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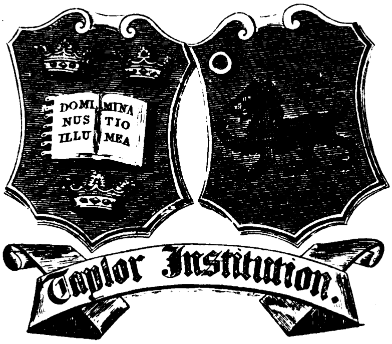
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SERIES D.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD,

INCLUDING AN

INVESTIGATION OF THE GENERAL LAWS OF SOUND CHANGE, AND FULL WORD LISTS.

BY

HENRY SWEET, ESQ.,
Member of Council of the Philological and Early English Text Societies,
Editor of the Old English Version of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis.

(*From the Transactions of the Philological Society for* 1873-4.)

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PREFACE.

ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY.

THE History of English Sounds, by Mr. Henry Sweet, was originally written for the London Philological Society, in further illustration of the great work on Early English Pronunciation by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis. Upon application to the Council of the Philological Society, and to the author, permission was at once obtained for making arrangements whereby additional copies of the work should be struck off for the use of members of the English Dialect Society. The importance of it to all who study English sounds, especially such sounds as are frequently well preserved in some of our provincial dialects, will soon become apparent to the careful reader. But as there may be some amongst our members who may not be aware of what has been lately achieved in the study of phonetics, a few words of introduction may not be out of place here.

I have more than once received letters from correspondents who boldly assert that, of some of our dialectal sounds, no representation is possible, and that it is useless to attempt it. Against such a sweeping denunciation of the study of phonetics it would be vain to argue. It may be sufficient merely to remark that precisely the same argument of "impossibility" was used, not so many years ago, against the introduction of the use of steam locomotives upon railways. The opinions of such as are unable to imagine how things which they cannot do themselves may, nevertheless, be achieved by others, will not be much regarded by such as desire progress and improvement.

It may, however, be conceded that no system of symbols existed which was of sufficient scientific accuracy until the publication of Mr. Melville Bell's singular and wonderful volume entitled—"Visible Speech: the Science of Universal Alphabetics: or Self-Interpreting Physiological Letters for the Printing and Writing of all Languages in one Alphabet; elucidated by Theoretical Explanations, Tables, Diagrams, and Examples." Now in this system none of the usual alphabetical characters appear at all, nor is the alphabet founded upon any one language. It is a wholly new collection of symbols, adapted for all or most of the sounds which the human voice is capable of producing, and is founded upon the most strictly scientific principles, each symbol being so chosen as to define the disposition of the organs used in producing the sound which the symbol is intended to represent. How this wonderful result has been achieved, the reader may easily discover for himself, either by consulting that work, or another by the same author which every one interested in the study of phonetics is earnestly recommended to procure, at the cost of only *one shilling*. The title of this latter work, consisting of only sixteen pages in quarto, is:—English Visible Speech for the Million, etc.; by Alex. Melville Bell. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; London and New York: Trübner & Co. A fair and candid examination of this pamphlet will shew the reader, better than any detailed description can do, how the study of sounds has been rendered possible. Every work on phonetics will, no doubt, always be based upon, or have reference to, Mr. Bell's system, and therefore it is the more important that, at the very least, the existence of it should be widely known.

The work of Mr. Ellis is entitled:—On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S. The first two parts were published in 1869 by three societies in combination, viz. the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society; and the third part, by the same societies, in 1870. The work is not yet completed, and the fourth part, not yet published, will contain a full account of our modern English provincial dialects, shewing their distribution and connections. Mr. Ellis employs a system of symbols called *palæotype*, but, as every one of these has its exact equivalent in Mr. Bell's system, it admits of the same degree of accuracy, and has the advantage of being wholly represented by ordinary printing-types.

The next system is that invented by Mr. Ellis for the *special* representation of English dialectal sounds, and denominated *Glossic.*[1] By the kindness of the author, a copy of the tract upon Glossic is in the hands of every member of our Society. The attention of readers is directed to page 11 of that tract, where the thirty-six vowels of Mr. Bell's Visible Speech have their equivalent values in Glossic properly tabulated.

In Mr. Sweet's volume, now in the reader's hands, the corresponding table of vowel-sounds is given at page 5, and one principal object of this short Preface is to shew how Mr. Sweet's symbols and the 'Glossic' symbols agree together, and how, again, each table agrees with that of Mr. Bell.

I shall refer, then, to the three tables as given at p. 5 of Mr. Sweet's book, at p. 11 of the Glossic tract, and at p. 8 of Visible Speech for the Million. See also p. 14 of Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

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[1] The system called *Glossotype*, illustrated at p. 16 of Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, may be considered as now *cancelled*, and superseded by *Glossic.*

Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet agree with Mr. Bell in their use of the terms *High*, *Mid*, and *Low;* in their use of the terms *Back*, *Mixed*, and *Front;* and in their use of the terms *Wide* and *Wide-round*. The only difference is that Mr. Sweet uses the term *Narrow* instead of *Primary* (see page 4, note 1), and also uses the more exact term *Narrow-round* in place of what Mr. Ellis calls *Round* simply. As Mr. Sweet has *numbered* his sounds, it is easy to tabulate the correspondence of the systems in the following manner. I denote here Mr. Sweet's sounds by the *number* only, and include the Glossic symbol within square brackets, in the usual manner.

1. [uu'].	4. [ea].	7. [ᴇᴇ].	10. [U'].	13. [I'].	16. [ɪ].
2. [UU].	5. [ᴜ].	8. [ᴀɪ].	11. [ᴀᴀ].	14. [A'].	17. [ᴇ].
3. [ua].	6. [ua'].	9. [AE].	12. [AH].	15. [E'].	18. [ᴀ].
19. [oo].	22. [ui'].	25. [ui].	28. [ᴜo].	31. [uo'].	34. [UE].
20. [oᴀ].	23. [oa'].	26. [EO].	29. [AO].	32. [ao'].	35. [OE].
21. [ᴀᴜ].	24. [au'].	27. [eo'].	30. [o].	33. [o'].	36. [oe'].

Now it should be clearly understood that these two systems are both perfectly exact, because both refer to the same positions of the organs of voice; but, as soon as these sounds come to be described by illustrative examples, a few slight apparent discrepancies arise, solely from a difference of individual pronunciation, even in the case of common 'key-words.' I believe I am correct in saying that even Mr. Bell's 'key-words' do not represent to everybody the exact sounds intended, but are better understood by a North-country man than by a resident in London. Mr. Ellis describes this difficulty in the following words: "At the latter end of his treatise Mr. Melville Bell has given in to the practice of key-words, and assigned them to his symbols. Let the reader be careful not to take the value of his symbol from his own pronunciation of the key-words, or from any other person's. Let him first determine the value of the symbol from the exact description and diagram of the speech-organs,—or if possible also from the living voice of some one thoroughly acquainted with the system—and then determine Mr. Bell's own pronunciation of the key-word from the known value of the symbol. This pronunciation in many instances differs from that which I am accustomed to give it, especially in foreign words."

In order to steer clear of such minor difficulties, Mr. Sweet has adopted a very simple system of notation, which only aims at representing the broader distinctions between vowels, using, for example, the same symbol [a] for the mid-back-wide and the low-back-wide sounds (nos. 11 and 12), without further distinction, and defining it only as the sound *a*, as most commonly heard in the word *father*. Roughly speaking, then, the symbols which Mr. Sweet employs in his vowel-table may be thus represented in Glossic.

a, as the short vowel corresponding to the first vowel in f*a*ther; compare Glossic [aa], as in [faa·dhur].

æ, as *a* in m*a*n; Glossic [a], as in [man].

è, as *e* in t*e*ll; Glossic [e *or* ae], as in [tel]; provincial [tael].

é, as *ai* in b*ai*t; Glossic [ai], as in [bait].

ə, as *u* in b*u*t; Glossic [u], as in [but].

i, as in b*i*t; Glossic [i], as in [bit].

ò, as in n*o*t; òò, as in n*au*ght; Glossic [o] in [not]; [au] in [naut].

ó, as *oa* in b*oa*t; Glossic [oa], as in [boat].

oe, as *ö* in Germ. schön; Glossic [oe], as in Germ. [shoen].

u, as *oo* in f*oo*t; uu as *oo* in c*oo*l; Glossic [uo, oo], as in [fuot, kool].

y, as *ü* in Germ. *ü*bel; Glossic [ue], as in Germ. [uebu'l].

ai, a diphthong of a and i, as *y* in m*y*; Glossic [ei], as in [mei].

au, a diphthong of a and u, as *ou* in h*ouse*; Glossic [ou], as in [hous].

éi, a diphthong of é and i, as *a* in *tale*; Glossic [aiy], as in [taiyl].

óu, as *o* in n*o*, i.e. ó with an aftersound of u;[1] Glossic [oaw], as in [noaw].

oi, as *oy* in b*oy*; Glossic [oi], as in [boi].

It may be added, that þ is used to represent the sound of *th* in *thin*, Glossic [thin]; and ð to represent the *th* in *this*, Glossic [dhis].

According, then, to Mr. Sweet's notation, the word *father* is written faaðər; *man*, mæn; *tell*, tèl; *bait*, bét, or (more commonly) béit, in Southern English, béét in Scotch; *but*, bət; *bit*, bit; *not*, nòt; *boat*, bót, or (more commonly) bóut, in Southern English, bóót in Scotch; Germ. *schön*, shoen; *foot*, fut; Germ. *übel*, ybəl; *my*, mai; *house*, haus; *tale*, téil; *no*, nóu; *boy*, boi.

The long vowels are expressed by doubling the symbol employed for the shorter vowels. The following are examples, viz. *father*, faaðer (the short sound of which is found in the Anglo-Saxon *man*, in modern English changed to *mæn*); *earn*, *worse*, əən, wəəs; *saw*, *faught*, sòò, fòòt; *whose*, huuz; and the like. Examples of diphthongs are seen in *eight*, éit; *lord*, *hoarse*, lòəd, hòəs; *smear*, smiər; *bear*, béər; etc.

The easiest way of becoming familiar with this very simple notation is to observe the long list of words beginning at p. 84. By comparing the *third* column, which gives the modern English *spelling*, with the *fourth*, which gives the modern English *pronunciation* according to the above system, the sounds intended can be very easily ascertained, and the reader will be prepared to understand what is meant by the *first* and *second* columns, which exhibit the pronunciations of the Old and Middle period respectively. The thanks of students are especially due to Mr. Sweet for these word-lists, with the alphabetical register of them appended. They can only have been compiled at the cost of much labour and diligence, and shew an intimate acquaintance with the spellings and pronunciations of all periods of English.

---

[1] More clearly heard when used as a negative, in response to a question, than when used as in the phrase '*no* man.' EXAMPLE: Do you like that? *Answer*—nóu.

W. W. S.

ERRATA AND ADDITIONS.

Page 6, line 12, *for* wulf, *read* wolf.

„ 16 „ 2 *from bottom, dele* important.

„ 52, "Diphthongs," see also p. 148.

„ 69, "Consonant Influence," see also p. 151.

„ 74, "Consonant Influence" (Latest Mod.). Note also the tendency to lower *uu* before *r*, as shown in the almost universal *yòò(r)* for *yuur* (possessive of *yuu*). In the vulgar pronunciation this is carried out in all words, so that the combination *uur* is entirely lost. Thus we have *pòòə* for *puur*, *shòòə* for *shuur*, etc.

Word Lists: *dele* þycce (No. 797).

for cleev, *read* clèèv (1327).

quean (1741) seems to come from *cwéne* with a short vowel = Gothic *kwinō*.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS.

BY HENRY SWEET, ESQ.

INTRODUCTION.

IN studying the phonetic development of a language two methods are open to us, the historical and the comparative; that is to say, we may either trace the sounds of one and the same language through its successive stages, or else compare the divergent forms in a group of languages which have a common origin.

Each method has its advantages. In the historical method the sequence of the phenomena is self-evident; when we compare two forms of the same sound in several co-existing languages, it is often doubtful which is the older. The peculiar advantage of the comparative method is that it can be applied to living languages, where nothing but careful observation of facts is required, while in the case of dead languages the phonetic material is often defective, and is always preserved in an imperfect form by means of graphic symbols, whose correct interpretation is an indispensable preliminary to further investigation. In short, we may say that the comparative method is based, or may be based, on facts, the historical on theoretical deductions.

It need hardly be said that the first requisite for phonetic investigation of any kind is a knowledge of sounds. Yet nothing is more common in philology than to see men, who have not taken the slightest trouble to make themselves acquainted with the rudiments of vocal physiology, making the boldest and most dogmatic statements about the pronunciation of dead languages—asserting, for instance, that certain sounds are unnatural, or even impossible, merely because they do not happen to occur in their own language. Such prejudices can only be got rid of by a wide and impartial training.

The second requisite is a collection of carefully recorded facts. In this respect the present state of phonology is somewhat anomalous. As far as living languages are concerned, the amount of reliable material that exists is still very small, although it is rapidly increasing, while if we turn to the dead languages we find an enormous body of careful, full, often exhaustive, observations of the varied phenomena of letter-change in the Teutonic languages—a dead mass, which requires the warm breath of living phonology to thaw it into life. Before the word-lists in such a book as Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* can be intelligently utilized, the spoken sounds they represent must be determined. The first step is to determine generally the relations between sound and symbol. The ideal of a phonetic notation is, of course, a system in which every simple sound would have a simple sign, bearing some definite relation to the sound it represents. It need hardly be said that all the modifications of the Roman alphabet in which the Teutonic languages have been written down fall far short of this standard. The Roman alphabet was originally, like all naturally developed alphabets, a purely hieroglyphic system, representing not sounds but material objects: the connection of each symbol with its sound is therefore entirely arbitrary. When we consider that this inadequate system was forced on languages of the most diverse phonetic structure, we need not be surprised at the defects of the orthography of the old Teutonic languages, but rather admire the ingenuity with which such scanty resources were eked out.

The maximum of difficulty is reached when a language changes through several generations, while its written representation remains unchanged. In such a case as that of English during the last three centuries, we are compelled to disregard the written language altogether, and have recourse to other methods.

Foremost among these is the study of the contemporary evidence afforded by treatises on pronunciation with their descriptions of the various sounds and comparisons with foreign utterance. It is on this kind of evidence that the well-known investigations of Mr. Ellis are based. The great value of Mr. Ellis's work consists in the impartial and cautious spirit in which he has carried it out, advancing step by step, and never allowing theories to overrule facts. Mr. Ellis's method forms a striking contrast to that pursued by some Early English students, who, starting from the assumption that whatever pronunciation is most agreeable to their own ears must be the right one, take for granted that Alfred, Chaucer, and Shakespere spoke exactly like 19th-century gentlemen, and then, instead of shaping their theories by the existing evidence, pick out those facts which they think confirm their views, and ignore all the rest. The result of Mr. Ellis's investigations is to establish with certainty, within certain limits, the pronunciation of English during the last three centuries; absolute accuracy is impossible in deductions drawn from the vague statements of men who had but an imperfect knowledge of the mechanism of the sounds they uttered.

I hope, however, to show that that minute accuracy which is unattainable by the method adopted by Mr. Ellis, can be reached through a combination of the comparative with the historical method, taking the latter in its widest sense to include both the external evidence employed by Mr. Ellis, and the internal evidence of the graphic forms. This gives us three independent kinds of evidence, which, as we shall see, corroborate each other in the strongest manner.

Before going any farther it will be necessary to say a few words on the phonetic notation I have adopted. The only analysis of vowel-sounds that is of any real use for general scientific purposes is that of Mr. Bell. His system differs from all others in two important particulars, 1) in being based not on the acoustic effects of the sounds, but on their organic formation, and 2) in being of universal applicability: while most other systems give us only a limited number of sounds arbitrarily selected from a few languages, Mr. Bell's *Visible Speech* is entirely independent of any one language—it not only tells us what sounds *do* exist in a given language, but also what sounds *may* exist in any language whatever. It is therefore of priceless value in all theoretical investigations like the present.

The following remarks will help to elucidate Mr. Bell's table of vowels with key-words, which I have given on the opposite page.

Every vowel is, as regards position, either *back* (guttural), of which *aa* is the type, *front* (palatal), typified by *ii*, or *mixed*, that is, formed by the back and front of the tongue simultaneously, as in the English *err*. Each vowel, again, has one of three degrees of elevation—it is either *high*, *mid* or *low*. Each of these nine positions may be *rounded* (labialized). Each of the resulting eighteen vowels must, lastly, be either *narrow*[1] or *wide*. In forming narrow vowels the pharynx or cavity behind the mouth is compressed, while in wide vowels it is relaxed. The distinction will be clearly felt by any one who pronounces *not*, *naught*, several times in succession, drawling them out as much as possible: it will be found that in sounding *not* the pharynx and back of the mouth is relaxed, while in *naught* there is evident tension. The vowel in both words is the low-back-round, but in *not* it is wide, in *naught* narrow.

In treating of the formation of the sounds, I have always described them in Mr. Bell's terminology, which is admirably simple and clear. If I could have made use of his types, I could have avoided a great deal of circumlocution, which, as it is, has proved unavoidable.

For the convenience of those who are not able to appreciate minute phonetic distinctions, I have also adopted a rough practical system of notation, in which only the broadest distinctions are indicated. In this system *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, are employed in their original Roman values, the distinction between open and close *e* and *o* being indicated by accents. To indicate that class of sounds of which the English vowels in *but* and *err* are types, I have adopted the turned *e* (ə). The English vowel in *man* is written *æ*, and *œ* is used

---

[1] I have ventured to substitute "narrow" for Mr. Bell's "primary," as being both shorter and more expressive.

GENERAL VOWEL SCALE.

NARROW.			WIDE.		
1 high-back.	4 high-mixed. *Sw.* *u*pp	7 high-front. *Scotch and occ. Engl.* feel	10 high-back. *occ. Engl.* b*u*t *Engl.* *e*ye	13 high-mixed.	16 high-front. *Engl.* bit
2 mid-back. *occ. Eng.* b*u*t	5 mid-mixed. *German unacc,* e	8 mid-front, *Dan.* steen *Scotch* take	11 mid-back, *Engl,* f*a*ther	14 mid-mixed. *Engl.* fath*e*r	17 mid-front. *occ. Engl.* m*e*n *Dan.* l*æ*se
3 low-back. *occ. Scotch* b*u*t	6 low-mixed, *Eng.* *e*rr	9 low-front. *Scotch and occ, Engl.* m*e*n	12 low-back, *Sw.* f*a*ra *Scotch* m*a*n	15 low-mixed *Engl.* how *occ, Scotch* *e*rr	18 low-front, *Engl.* m*a*n

NARROW-ROUND.			WIDE-ROUND.		
19 high-back, *Scotch and occ, Engl,* fool	22 high-mixed. *Sw.* h*u*s	25 high-front. *Germ.* *ü*bel *Dan.* l*y*s	28 high-back, *Eng.* full	31 high-mixed,	34 high-front, *Dan,* s*y*nd
20 mid-back, *Germ.* s*o*hn	23 mid-mixed.	26 mid-front, *Dan.* f*ö*le *Germ.* sch*ö*n	29 mid-back, *Engl.* boy *occ. Scotch* no	32 mid-mixed.	35 mid-front. *Dan.* en d*ö*r
21 low-back. *Engl.* f*a*ll	24 low-mixed.	27 low-front. *Dan.* st*ö*rst *occ. Germ.* g*ö*tter	30 low-back. *Engl.* hot	33 low-mixed.	36 low-front.

to designate the German *ö*. Long vowels are doubled, and diphthongs indicated by combining their elements.[1]

a	as in	f*a*ther	Nos.	11, 12, (3)	on Bell's Scale.
æ	„	m*a*n	„	18	„
è	„	t*e*ll	„	9, (17)	„
é	„	*Scotch* tale, *French* é	„	8	„
ə	„	b*u*t, b*i*rd, *German* gab*e*	„	2, (3), 5, 6, (10), 14, 15.	
i	„	b*i*t, b*ea*t	„	7, 16.	
ò	„	n*o*t	„	21, (29), 30	on Bell's Scale.
ó	„	*Scotch* note, *Germ.* sohn	„	20	„
œ	„	*Germ.* sch*ö*n	„	(26), 27, 35, 36	„
u	„	O w[illegible]lf	„	19, 28.	
y	„	*Germ.* *ü*bel	„	25, (26), 34	„
ai	„	m*y*, *Germ.* m*ei*n.			
au	„	h*ou*se, *Germ.* h*au*s.			
éi	„	t*a*le.			
óu	„	n*o*.			
oi	„	b*oy*.			

I have not made any use of Mr. Ellis's "palæotype," as, in spite of its typographical convenience, its extreme complexity and arbitrariness make it, as I can testify from personal experience, quite unfitted for popular exposition. The apparent easiness of palæotype as compared with the Visible Speech letters of Mr. Bell is purely delusive: it is certain that those who find Visible Speech too difficult will be quite unable really to master palæotype. It must also be borne in mind that no system of notation will enable the student to dispense with a thorough study of the sounds themselves: there is no royal road to phonetics.

GENERAL LAWS OF SOUND CHANGE.

They may be investigated both deductively, that is, by examining known changes in languages, and à priori, by considering the relations of sounds among themselves. I propose to combine these methods as much as possible. Although in giving examples of the various changes I have been careful to select cases which may be considered as perfectly well established, I must in many cases ask the reader to suspend his judgment till they have been fully discussed, which, of course, cannot be done till we come to the details. The general laws I am about to state may, for the present, be regarded simply as convenient heads for classing the various changes under.

---

[1] Numbers within parentheses indicate the less distinctive vowels, which admit of being brought under different heads: 26, for instance, may be regarded either as a very open *y* or a close *œ*.

All the changes may be brought under three grand divisions, 1) *organic,* 2) *imitative,* and 3) *inorganic.* Organic changes are those which are the direct result of certain tendencies of the organs of speech: all the changes commonly regarded as weakenings fall under this head. Imitative changes are the result of an unsuccessful attempt at imitation. Inorganic changes, lastly, are caused by purely external causes, and have nothing to do either with organic weakening or with unsuccessful imitation.

The great defect of most attempts to explain sound-changes is that they select some one of these causes, and attempt to explain everything by it, ignoring the two others. It would, for instance, be entirely misleading to explain the change of the O.E. *bær* (pret. of *beran*) into the N.E. *bore* as an organic sound-change, the truth being that the form *bore* is the result of confusion with the participle *borne.* Such a case as this is self-evident, but I hope to show hereafter that the very remarkable and apparently inexplicable changes which our language underwent during the transition from the Old to the Middle period, can be easily explained as inorganic developments.

We may now turn to the two first classes of changes, organic and imitative. From the fact that all sounds are originally acquired by imitation of the mother and nurse we are apt to assume that all sound-change is due to imitation, but a little consideration will show that this is not the case. How, for instance, can such a change as that of a stopped to an open consonant, or of *ii, uu,* into *ai, au,* be explained by imitation? The fact that the vast majority of those who speak even the most difficult languages *do* make the finest distinctions perfectly well, proves clearly that the correct imitation of sounds is no insurmountable difficulty even to people of very ordinary capacity. The real explanation of such changes as those cited above is that the sounds were acquired properly by imitation, and then modified by the speaker himself, either from carelessness or indolence.

Further confirmation is afforded by the fact, which any one may observe for himself, that most people have double pronunciations, one being that which they learned by imitation, the other an unconscious modification. If asked to pronounce the sound distinctly, they will give the former sound, and will probably disown the other as a vulgarism, although they employ it themselves invariably in rapid conversation. When the habits are fixed, the difficulty of correct imitation largely increases. To the infant one sound is generally not more difficult than another, but to the adult a strange sound is generally an impossibility, or, at any rate, a very serious difficulty. He therefore naturally identifies it with the nearest equivalent in his own language, or else analyses it, and gives the two elements successively instead of simultaneously. We may, therefore, expect a much wider range of the imitative principle in words derived from other languages. I propose, accordingly, to class all the doubtful changes under the head of organic, treating as imitative changes only those which do not allow of any other explanation, but admitting that some of the changes considered as inorganic may under special circumstances be explained as imitative.

Organic sound-changes fall naturally into two main divisions, *simple* and *complex*. Simple changes are those which affect a single sound without any reference to its surroundings, while complex changes imply two sounds in juxtaposition, which modify one another in various ways.

It is generally assumed by philologists that all organic sound-changes may be explained by the principle of economy of exertion, and there can be no doubt that many of the changes must be explained in this way and in no other, as, for instance, the numerous cases of assimilation, where, instead of passing completely from one sound to another, the speaker chooses an intermediate one. Other changes, however, not only do not require this hypothesis of muscular economy, but even run quite counter to it, as when an open consonant is converted into a stop, a by no means uncommon phenomenon in the Teutonic languages. It is of the greatest importance that these exceptions to the general rule should not be suppressed.

I shall, therefore, while giving precedence to those changes which seem to be in harmony with the general principle of economy of force, take care to state fully the exceptions. I begin with the simple changes, arranging them in classes, according to the different vocal organs concerned in their formation.

A. Simple Changes.

I. WEAKENING.

1) Glottal: voice to whisper and breath. In the formation of voice the glottis is momentarily closed, in that of whisper its edges are only approximated, and in breath the glottis is quite open. It is evident, therefore, that voice *per se* demands the most and breath the least muscular exertion, and that the natural tendency would be to substitute whisper and breath for voice whenever possible. The great preservative of consonantal vocality is the principle of assimilation, to which we shall return presently. When a voice consonant is flanked by vowels, as in *aba, aga,* etc., it is much easier to let the voice run on uninterruptedly than to cut it off at the consonant and then resume it. But at the end of a word this assimilative influence is not felt, and accordingly we find that in nearly all the Teutonic languages except English, many of the final voice consonants become either voiceless or whispered.

2) Pharyngal: narrow to wide. In the formation of narrow vowels the pharynx is compressed, while in that of wide vowels it is relaxed. The natural tendency would therefore be from narrow to wide. It is, however, a curious fact that in the Teutonic languages short and long vowels follow diametrically opposed laws of change as regards these pharyngal modifications, long vowels tending to narrowing, short to widening. Full details will be given hereafter; I merely call attention to these Teutonic changes as a clear instance of inapplicability of the principle of economy of force.[1]

3) Changes of position. The most general feature of

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[1] Mr. H. Nicol, however, suggests that the narrowing of long vowels may be caused by the effort required to sustain a uniform sound—hence long vowels are either narrowed or diphthongized.

changes of position is the tendency to modify the back articulations, whether vowels or consonants, by shifting forwards to the front, point or lip positions. This is clearly a case of economy of exertion, as the back formations require a movement of the whole body of the tongue, the front and point of only a portion of it. Of the two last the front, on the same principle, evidently require more exertion than the point sounds. The lip consonants (the labial vowels must be reserved), lastly, involve the minimum of exertion.

I will now give a few examples of these various changes.

a) back to front: Sanskrit *ch* (front-stop) from *k*, as in *vach=vak;* English *mæn, fèèər*, from the Old E. *mann, faran.*

b) back to point: E. *méit* from O.E. *gemaca.*

c) back to lip: seems doubtful, as the cases usually cited, such as Greek *pénte=kankan*, seem to be the result of the assimilative influence of the *w*-sound preserved in the Latin *quinque*.

d) front to point: the development of *tsh* from *k* through an intermediate front position, as in the E. *church* from *cyrice*; the change of Sanskrit *ç*, as in *çru*, which was originally the voiceless consonant corresponding to the English consonant *y*, to the present sound of *sh*.

e) front and point to lip?[1]

f) back and front to mixed (applies only to vowels). All unaccented vowels in most of the Teutonic languages have been levelled under one sound—the mid-mixed-narrow, as in the German *endə, geebən*, from the older *andi, giban.*

There are many exceptions to these general tendencies. Thus, of the two *r*s, the back and the point, the former seems to require less exertion than the latter, and hence is often substituted for it in the careless pronunciation of advanced communities, especially in large cities. Other cases, however, really seem to run counter to the principle of economy of force. Such are the change of *th* into

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[1] The not unfrequent change of *th* into *f* is no doubt purely imitative (*fruu* for *þruu*).

kh (=German *ch*) in the Scotch (Lothian dialect) *khrii* for *thrii*.

The changes of height in the vowels cannot be brought under any general laws. In the Teutonic languages, at least, short and long vowels follow quite opposite courses, long vowels tending to high, short to low positions.

4) Relaxation:

a) stopped consonants to unstopped: Latin *lingua* from *dingua*; German *makhən* = E. *méik*, *wasər* = *wòòtər*; Modern Greek *dhédhoka* from *dédooka*.

b) unstopped to diphthongal vowel: Middle English *dai*, *lau*, from older *dagh*, *laghu*; English *hiiə* from *hiir*.

c) untrilling: a common phenomenon in most of the Teutonic languages, especially English, in which the trilled *r* is quite lost.

There are some unmistakable exceptions to these tendencies. All the Teutonic languages except English seem to find the *th* and *dh* difficult, and convert them into the corresponding stopped *t* and *d*. In Swedish the *gh* of the oldest documents has, in like manner, become *g*. There seem to be cases of vowels developing into consonants, which will be treated of hereafter. Lastly, we may notice the not unfrequent development of trilled out of untrilled consonants, as in Dutch, where *g* first became opened into *gh*, which in many Dutch dialects has become a regular guttural *r*.

5) Rounding (vowel-labialization). We must distinguish between the rounded back and the rounded front vowels, for their tendencies are directly opposed to one another: back vowels tend to rounding, front to unrounding. In the case of back vowels, rounding may be regarded as an attempt to diminish the expenditure of muscular energy, by keeping the mouth half-closed, whence the change of *aa* into *òò*, which, as we shall see, is almost universal in the Teutonic languages. But with the more easily-formed front vowels this economy of exertion is superfluous: we find, accordingly, that front vowels are seldom rounded, but that rounded front vowels are often unrounded, *y* and *œ* becoming *i* and *e*—a frequent change in the Teutonic languages.

II. Loss.

1) of vowels. The loss of unaccented final vowels is a [redacted] frequent phenomenon in all languages. The dropping of final *e* is a characteristic feature of the Modern period of English.

2) of consonants. Here we may distinguish several classes of changes. A single consonant may fall off either before a vowel or a consonant, and it may be initial, medial, or final. The Teutonic languages are, as a general rule, remarkable for the extreme tenacity with which they retain their consonants, especially when final.

B. Complex Changes.

III. Influence.

1) One-sided Influence. Influence of one sound on another may be either partial (modification) or complete (assimilation). We must further distinguish the influence of vowel on vowel, vowel on consonant, consonant on consonant, and consonant on vowel.

The modification of one vowel by another, commonly called *umlaut*, is a very important feature of Teutonic sound-change. The following are the most important Teutonic umlauts, which I have formulated as equations.

a...i=è : *O.E.* ènde=*Gothic* andi ; *O. Icelandic* wèèri=waari.
a...u=ò : *O. Icelandic* mònnum=mannum, sòòr=saaru (*pl. of* saar).
i...a=é : *O.E.* stélan=*Gothic* stilan.
u...a=ó : *O.E.* óft=*Gothic* ufta.
u...i=y : *O.E.* fyllan=fullian, myys=muusi.
ó...i=œ : *O E.* grœœne=gróóni.

There are also umlauts of diphthongs, such as *èy* in the Old Icelandic *lèysa*=*lausian*.

The change of *ai* into *èi* in Old Icelandic (*vèit*=*vait*), and the further change of *èi* into *éi* in Modern Icelandic, are examples of what might be called diphthongic umlaut.

It is clear that in all these umlauts the new vowel is exactly intermediate between the original vowel of the root and the modifying one of the termination: if the new vowel became identical with its modifier, the result would be not an umlaut but a complete assimilation. In the Old Icelandic *skòpuðu=skapaðu* the first vowel is modified, the second assimilated by the final *u*.

Vowel influence on consonants is not very common, but the different forms of German *ch*, after back, front, and rounded vowels, as in *ach*, *ich*, *auch*, are instances of it.

Consonant influence on consonants is very strongly developed in some languages: what is called *sandhi* in Sanskrit and *mutation* in the Celtic languages falls partly under this head. The Teutonic languages, on the other hand, are remarkable for the independence of their consonants, and the freedom with which they are combined without modifying one another. Consonant influence on vowels, lastly, is perhaps the obscurest of all phonetic problems: the explanation of its varied phenomena seems to require a far greater knowledge of the synthesis of speech-sounds than is at present attained by phonologists. These influences are strongly developed both in Old and Modern English, and will be treated of in their place.

The converse of the processes just considered is *dissimilation*, by which two identical sounds are made unlike, or two similar sounds are made to diverge. The development of the Teutonic preterite *wista* out of *witta* is an example of consonantal, the diphthongization of *ii* into *éi* in Early Modern English of vowel dissimilation, while the further change of *éi* into *əi* and *ai* is a case of divergence of similar sounds. The whole phenomena of *dissimilation* is anomalous, and it is doubtful whether many of the instances ought not to be ascribed to purely external causes, as, for instance, the desire of greater clearness.

2) Mutual Influence. Mutual influence, in which *both* the sounds are modified by one another, may be either partial or complete. I do not know of any sure instance of partial convergence.

The commonest type of complete convergence is such a change as that of *au* into *òò*, in which two distinct sounds are simplified into one sound different from and yet similar to both of them. This simplification of diphthongs is, as we shall see, a very frequent phenomenon in the history of English sounds. Of consonantal simplification we have an example in the English *wh* in *what*, which was first *khwat*, then *h-wat*, and lastly *what*, the initial *h* being incorporated into the *w*, which consequently lost its vocality.

The converse phenomenon of divergence is exemplified in the resolution of simple long vowels into diphthongs. We have seen that *òò* is often the result of the simplification of *au*, but in Icelandic the process has been reversed—the Old Icelandic *òò* (as in *dòòð* from *daað*) has become *au*. In the same way the Middle English *yy* has in the present English been resolved into *iu*. Whether short vowels are ever resolved is very doubtful.

IV. TRANSPOSITION.

Transposition may be of consonants, as in the familiar *ax* for *ask*, or else of vowels in different syllables, as in the Greek *meinō* for *meniō*. This latter case must be carefully distinguished from umlaut. There seem also to be cases of transposition in different words, or in whole classes of words, such as the confusion between *'air=hair* and *hair=air*, which seems to be often made in the London dialect.

The results obtained may be conveniently summed up thus:

A. Simple Changes.

I. WEAKENING.

1) Glottal: voice to whisper and breath.
2) Pharyngal: narrow to wide.
3) Position: a) back to front.
    b) back to point.
    c) back to lip?
    d) front to point.

e) front and point to lip?
f) back and front to mixed (vowels only).
g) vowel-height?

4) Relaxation: a) stop to unstopped; b) unstopped to vowel; c) untrilling.

5) Vowel-rounding: rounding of back; unrounding of front.

II. Loss.

1) Of vowels: unaccented final *e*.

2) Consonants: before vowel, before another consonant; initial, medial, final.

B. Complex Changes.

III. Influence.

1) One-sided, a) convergent:
  partial (modification), complete (assimilation); vowel on vowel (umlaut), vowel on consonant, consonant on consonant (sandhi), consonant on vowel.
  b) divergent (dissimilation): of vowels, of consonants.

2) Mutual, a) convergent:
  partial (diphthongic umlaut), complete (diphthongic simplification); consonantal.
  b) divergent: resolution of long vowels, of short (?).

IV. Transposition.

1) Of consonants.
2) Of vowels (in different syllables).
3) In different words.

Imitative Sound-Changes.

The general principle on which imitative changes depend is simply this—that the same effect, or nearly the same, may be produced on the ear by very different means. Thus, starting from the mid-front-narrow vowel *e*, we can lower its natural pitch either by slightly raising the back of the tongue, and thus producing the corresponding mixed ə instead of the front vowel, or else by rounding into the mid-front-round *œ*, the result being that *œ* and *ə* are so alike in sound that they are constantly confused in many languages. This similarity of sound between the mixed and round vowels was first pointed out by Mr. Bell (Visible Speech, p. 87).

There is the same similarity between the low-narrow and the mid-wide vowels, and also between the high-wide and the mid-narrow. Thus the English *e* in *men* is indifferently pronounced, either as the mid-front-wide or the low-front-narrow, and the *ə* in *bət* as the high-back-wide or the mid-back-narrow.

Whenever, then, we find a sound changing directly into another which, although very similar in acoustic effect, is formed in quite a different manner, we may be sure that the change is an imitative, not an organic one. Thus, when we find *œ* and *ə* constantly interchanging without any intermediate stages, it would be unreasonable to assume, as we should have to do on the assumption of organic changes, three such stages as *œ*, *é*, *ə*, whereas the imitative hypothesis makes the direct change of *œ* into *ə* perfectly intelligible.

INORGANIC CHANGES.

Inorganic sound-changes, which result from purely external causes, are of a very varied character, and are consequently difficult to classify. One of the most prominent of these external influences is the striving after logical clearness, which comes more and more into play as the sounds of the language become less distinct. Clearness may again be attained in many ways—by discarding one of two words which have run together in form, though distinct in meaning, or by taking advantage of any tendency to change which may keep the two words distinct (scheideformen). The important phenomenon of *levelling*, by which advanced languages get rid of superfluous distinctions, is a very important inorganic change, and is strongly developed in Transition English. A familiar aspect of inorganic sound-change is the alteration of foreign words so as to give them a homely appearance, as in *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*.

GENERAL LAW OF CHANGE.

The investigation of the various laws of sound-change—important as it is—must not be allowed to divert our attention from the general principle on which they all depend, namely that of incessant change—alternations of development and decay. To say that language changes looks very like a truism, but if so, it is a truism whose consequences are very generally ignored by theorizers on pronunciation. The most important lesson that it teaches us is to regard all cases of stand-still, whether of phonetic or of general linguistic development, as abnormal and exceptional. These cases of arrested development are really much rarer than is commonly supposed, and many of them are quite delusive—the result of the retention of the written representation of an older language, from which the real living language has diverged widely. English and Icelandic are striking examples. The written English language is for all practical purpose an accurate representation of the spoken language of the sixteenth century, which, as far as the sounds themselves are concerned, is as different from the present English as Latin is from Italian. The apparent stability of our language during the last few centuries is purely delusive.

The case of English and Icelandic also shows how it is possible for a language to retain its grammatical structure unimpaired, and at the same time to undergo the most sweeping changes in its phonetic system. How much more then are we bound to expect a change of pronunciation where the whole grammatical structure of a language has been subverted!

It is not only in its unceasing alternations of development and decay that language shows its analogy with the other manifestations of organic life, but also in another very important feature, namely in that of increasing complexity of phonetic structure. The greater number of sounds in a late as opposed to an early language is at once evident on comparing two languages belonging to the same stock, but in different stages of development, such as English with German, French with Italian or Spanish. It can further be shown that even in German, in its sounds one of the most archaic of the living Teutonic languages, many of the simple vowels are of comparatively late origin.

The sounds of early languages, besides being few in number, are more sharply marked off, more distinct than those of their descendants. Compare the multitude of indistinct vowel sounds in such a language as English with the clear simplicity of the Gothic and Sanskrit triad *a, i, u*—the three most distinct sounds that could possibly be produced. From these three vowels the complex systems of the modern languages have been developed by the various changes already treated of.

There can be little doubt that the simplicity of earlier phonetic systems was partly due to want of acoustic discrimination, and that primitive Man contented himself with three vowels, simply because he would have been unable to distinguish between a larger number of sounds. The really marvellous fineness of ear displayed by those who speak such languages as English, Danish, or French, must be the result of the accumulated experience of innumerable generations.

From this we can easily deduce another law, namely that the changes in early languages are not gradual, but *per saltum*. A clear appreciation of this principle is of considerable importance, as many philologists have assumed that in such changes as that of a back into a front consonant (Sanskrit *k* into *ch*) the tongue was shifted forwards by imperceptible gradations. Such assumptions are quite unnecessary, besides being devoid of proof. To people accustomed previously only to the broad distinction between back and point consonant, the further distinction of front must at first have appeared almost indistinguishable from its two extremes.

Under such circumstances it is not easy to see how they could have distinguished intermediate modifications of the original sound.

GENERAL ALPHABETICS.

Although it would be possible to carry on the present investigation on a purely comparative basis—confining our attention exclusively to the living languages—such a process would prove tedious and difficult, if pursued without any help from the historical method, many of whose deductions are perfectly well established: to ignore these would be perverse pedantry. But the historical method must be based on a study of the graphic forms in which the older languages are preserved, and especially of their relation to the sounds they represent. It is quite useless to attempt to draw deductions from the spelling of a language till we know on what principles that spelling was formed. We have only to look at living languages to see how greatly the value of the spelling of each language varies. In English and French the spelling is almost worthless as a guide to the actual language; in German and Spanish the correspondence between sound and symbol is infinitely closer, and in some languages, such as Finnish and Hungarian, it is almost perfect—as far as the radical defects of the Roman alphabet allow.

With these facts before us, it is clearly unreasonable to assume, as many philologists have done, that the same divergence between orthography and pronunciation which characterizes Modern English prevailed also in the earlier periods, and consequently that no reliable deductions can be drawn from the graphic forms. I feel confident that every one who has patience enough to follow me to the end of the present discussion will be convinced of the very opposite. Putting aside the actual evidence altogether, it is quite clear that the wretched attempts at writing the sounds of our dialects made by educated men of the present day cannot be taken as standards from which to infer a similar result a thousand years ago.

An educated man in the nineteenth century is one who has been taught to associate groups of type-marks with certain ideas: his conception of language is visual, not oral. The same system is applied to other languages as well as English, so that we have the curious phenomenon of people studying French and German for twenty years, and yet being unable to understand a single sentence of the spoken languages; also of Latin verses made and measured by eye, like a piece of carpentry, by men who would be unable to comprehend the metre of a single line of their own compositions, if read out in the manner of the ancients. The study of Egyptian hieroglyphics affords almost as good a phonetic training as this.

Before the invention of printing the case was very different. The Roman alphabet was a purely phonetic instrument, the value of each symbol being learned by ear, and consequently the sounds of the scribe being also written by ear. The scarcity of books, the want of communication between literary men, and the number of literary dialects—all these causes made the adoption of a rigid, unchanging orthography a simple impossibility. It must not, of course, be imagined that there were *no* orthographical traditions, but it may be safely said that their influence was next to none at all. The only result of greater literary cultivation in early times was to introduce a certain roughness and carelessness in distinguishing shades of sound: we shall see hereafter that sounds which were kept distinct in the thirteenth-century spelling were confused in the time of Chaucer, although it is quite certain that they were still distinguished in speech. But such defects, although inconvenient to the investigator, do not lead him utterly astray, like the retention of a letter long after the corresponding sound has changed or been lost, which is so often the case in orthographies fixed on a traditional basis.

Early scribes not only had the advantage of a rational phonetic tradition—not a tradition of a fixed spelling for each word, but of a small number of letters associated each with one sound;—but, what is equally important, the mere practical application of this alphabet *forced* them to observe and analyse the sounds they wrote down: in short they were trained to habits of phonetic observation. Yet another advantage was possessed by the earliest scribes—that of a comparatively limited number of sounds to deal with. For the proofs of this position I must refer to the remarks I have made in the discussion of the Laws of Sound Change, and to the details of the investigation itself.

The Roman alphabet consisted of six simple vowel signs, a e i o u y: on these six letters the vowel notation of all the Teutonic languages was based. If, therefore, we can determine the sounds attached to these letters by the Romans during the first few centuries of Christianity, we can also determine, within certain limits, the sounds of the unlettered tribes who adopted the Roman alphabet to write their own languages. Nor need our determination be absolutely accurate. It is certain that minute shades of difference between a Latin and, for example, an Old English sound would not have deterred the first writers of English from adopting the letter answering to the Latin sound: all that was wanted was a distinctive symbol.

Now there can be no doubt as to the general values of the six Roman vowel-signs. The sounds of the first five are still preserved in nearly all the Modern Latin languages, and that of the *y*, although lost in Italian and the other cognate languages, can be determined with certainty from the descriptions of the Latin grammarians, and from its being the regular transcription of the Greek *upsilon*. The values of the Roman vowel-letters may, then, be represented approximately thus:

a=Italian *a*; English f*a*ther.
e ,, *e* ,, b*e*d, b*ea*r.
i ,, *i* ,, b*i*t, b*ea*t.
o ,, *o* ,, *o*dd, b*o*re.
u ,, *u* ,, f*u*ll, f*oo*l.
y=French *u*; Danish *y*.

We see that even in English the traditional values of the Roman letters have been very accurately preserved in many cases, and it need hardly be said that the majority of the living Teutonic languages have preserved them almost as faithfully as Italian and Spanish. We thus find that the Romance and Teutonic traditions are in complete harmony after a lapse of more than ten centuries. The greatest number of exceptions to the general agreement occur in the two most advanced languages of each group—English and French; but it can be shown that these divergences are of very late origin, and that in the sixteenth century the original tradition was still maintained.

We may now pass from the consideration of the single letters to that of their combinations or digraphs. The first use of digraphs, namely to express diphthongs, is self-evident, but they have a distinct and equally important function in symbolizing simple sounds which have no proper sign in the original Roman alphabet. The plan adopted was to take the symbols of two different sounds which both resembled the one in question, and write them one after the other, implying, however, that they were to be pronounced not successively but simultaneously—that an intermediate sound was to be formed. Thus, supposing there had been no *y* in the Roman alphabet, the sound might still have been easily represented by writing *u* and *i* (or *e*) together, implying an intermediate sound, which is no other than that of *y*. As we see, the framers of the Old English alphabet, living at a time when the Roman *y* still had its original sound, had no need of this expedient; but in Germany, where the sound of *y* did not develope till a comparatively late period—during the twelfth century—the only course open was to resort to a digraph, so that the sound which in Danish is still expressed by the Old Roman *y*, is in Modern German written *ue*.

This *ue* affords at the same time an excellent example of the way in which diacritical modifications are developed out of digraphs. The first step is to write one of the two letters above or under the other: accordingly we find the German *ue* in later times written *uͤ*. Afterwards the *e* was further abbreviated into two dots, giving the familiar *ü*. In some cases the diacritic becomes incorporated into the letter, and there results what is practically an entirely new letter. Although most diacritics can be explained in this way, as corruptions of originally independent letters, there are still a few cases of arbitrary modification, of which the Old English ð from *d* is an example. Cases of the arbitrary use of consonants as digraphic modifiers also occur. Thus *h* has come to be a perfectly unmeaning sign, implying any imaginable modification of the consonant it is associated with. Compare *g* and *gh* in Italian, *l* and *lh* in Portuguese, etc. The doubling of consonants to express new sounds is equally arbitrary, as in the Welsh *ff* as distinguished from *f*, and the Middle English *ss*=*sh*.

In all the cases hitherto considered the digraph is formed consciously and with design, but it often happens that a diphthong becomes simplified, and the original digraph is still retained for the sake of distinctness. Thus, if the diphthong *iu* passes into the simple sound of *yy*, it is clearly the simplest and most practical course to retain the *iu*, as being a perfectly legitimate representation of a sound which, although simple, lies between *i* and *u*.

All diacritical letters, whatever their origin, are distinguished in one very important respect from the older digraphs —they are perfectly unambiguous, while it is often difficult to determine whether a given digraph is meant to represent a diphthong or a simple sound. There is, however, one invariable criterion, although, unfortunately, it cannot always be applied, which is *the reversibility of the elements of the digraph.* Thus, the sound written *oe* in Old English, as in *boec* (later *bec*), might, on the evidence of this spelling alone, be taken equally well for a diphthongic combination of *o* and *e*, or for a sound intermediate to these two vowels; but when we find *boec* and *beoc* alternating, as they do, on the same page, we see that the *e* was a mere modifier, whose position before or after the vowel to be modified was quite immaterial: the sound must therefore have been simple—a conclusion which is fully confirmed by other evidence.

The Roman alphabet has been further enriched by the differentiation of various forms of the same letter, of which the present distinctions between *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, are instances. In these cases varieties of form which were originally purely ornamental and arbitrary have been ingeniously utilized to express distinctions in sounds.

QUANTITY AND QUALITY IN THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES.

The distinguishing feature of the early Teutonic languages is the important part played in them by quantity. This subject has been very fully investigated by Grimm and his school in Germany, and it may be regarded as proved beyond a doubt that in the Teutonic languages quantity was originally quite independent of stress or quality, and that many words were distinguished solely by their quantity.

Even so late as the thirteenth century we find the German poetry regulated partly by quantitative laws. Not only are short and long vowels never rhymed together, but there is also a fine distinction made between dissyllables with short and long penultimates; words like *bĭte* (modern *bitte*) being treated as metrically equivalent to a monosyllable, while *rīte* (now *reite*) is regarded as a true dissyllable. Many metres which employ monosyllabic rhyme-words indifferently with words like *bite* do not show a single instance of a dissyllable like *rīte* at the end of the line.

Similar instances may be adduced from the Icelandic rímur of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

All this is fully confirmed by the direct evidence of many German MSS. of the eleventh century, which employ the circumflex regularly to denote a long vowel.

It is further generally admitted that in the living Teutonic languages these distinctions have mostly vanished, short vowels before single consonants having been generally lengthened, and that quantitative distinctions have been replaced by qualitative ones. The general laws, however, on which these changes depend, have not hitherto been investigated, and I propose hereafter to treat of them in some detail: at present we must content ourselves with an examination of the more general features of the change.

In the substitution of qualitative for quantitative distinctions we can easily observe three stages, 1) the purely quantitative, 2) the transitional, in which, while the distinctions of quantity are still preserved, short and long vowels begin to diverge qualitatively also, and 3) the qualitative, in which long and short vowels are confounded, so that the original quantitative distinctions are represented, if at all, by quality only.

That the oldest English still retained the original quantitative system is in itself highly probable from the analogy of the other cognate languages, and also admits of decisive proof. If we take two vowels, one originally long, the other originally short, which are both long and yet qualitatively distinct in the living language, and show that they were qualitatively identical at an earlier period, we are forced to assume a purely quantitative distinction, for the later divergence of quality could not have developed out of nothing. Let us take the words *stoun* and *bein*, written in Old English *stan* and *bana*. It is quite certain that the *a* of *stan* was originally long, for it is nothing but a simplification of an older *ai*, still preserved in the German *shtain*, while there is equally decisive proof of the shortness of the *a* of *bana*. Now, if there had been any difference in the quality of the two vowels, they would certainly not have been written with the same letter. The back vowel *a* can only be modified in two directions—in that of *e* or of *o*, that is, by fronting or rounding, and, as we shall see hereafter, such changes were regularly indicated by a change of spelling, even when the departure from the original sound was very minute. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that the present purely qualitative distinction between *stoun* and *bein* was in the Old English period purely quantitative—*staan* and *bana*. Similar evidence is afforded by the other vowels.

As we have little direct evidence of the quantity of individual Old English words, recourse must be had to the comparison of the old cognates, for the details of which I must refer to the works of Grimm and his successors in Germany. Much may also be learned from the qualitative distinctions of the modern languages.

OLD ENGLISH PERIOD.

We may now proceed to a detailed examination of the vowel-sounds of our language in its oldest stage. The results of this investigation—which is an indispensable preliminary to the study of the later changes—cannot be properly appreciated till the evidence is fully set forth ; at present I only wish to remind the reader that a rigorously mathematical method is quite impracticable in such an investigation, which can only be carried out by a process of cumulative reasoning, based on a number of independent probabilities. Nothing can be more irrational than to ignore an obvious deduction merely because it is a deduction, or to discard one that, although not absolutely certain, is extremely probable, in favour of another that is only barely possible.

The principle I have adopted in cases of uncertainty is to adopt the oldest sound that can be ascertained. It happens in many cases that although we can say with certainty that a sound underwent a certain change, we cannot point out the exact period in which the new sound arose. It must be borne in mind that the written language, even in the most illiterate and therefore untraditional times, is always somewhat behind the living speech, and further that a new pronunciation may exist side by side with the old for a long time. In such cases it is necessary to have some definite criterion of selection, and that of always taking the oldest sound seems the most reasonable.

SHORT VOWELS.

A (Æ, O).

The short *a* of the cognate languages is in Old English preserved only in certain cases: 1) before a single consonant followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, which have, however, in the earliest extant period of the language been in some cases weakened into *e* : *hara, hagol, caru, care ;* 2) before nasals: *bana, lamb, lang*. In other cases *a* is replaced by *æ: dæg, æppel, cræftig*. Alternations of *a* and *æ* according to these rules often occur in various inflexions of the same word: *dæg, dæges, dagas, dagum. a* before nasals is liable to interchange with *o: bona, lomb, long*. This *o* is so frequent in the earlier period as in many words almost to supersede the *a,* but afterwards the *a* gets the upper hand, the *o* being preserved in only a few very frequent words, such as *þonne, on, of,* which last is an exceptional case of *o* developing before *f,* also occurring in the proper name *Offa* (=original *Aba*).

So far goes the evidence of the graphic forms, as it may be found in any comparative grammar, and before bringing in the living languages it will be as well to consider what deductions may be drawn from them. In the first place it is clear that the development of the *æ* is not due to any assimilation, but is a purely negative phenomenon, that is to say, that wherever *a* was not supported by a back vowel in the next syllable, it was weakened into *æ* without any regard to the following consonant. The change cannot therefore, as German philologists have already remarked, be compared to the regular vowel-mutation or umlaut.

As to the pronunciation of this *æ*, the spelling clearly points to a sound intermediate between *a* and *e*, while the joining together of the two letters and the frequent degradation of the *a* into a mere diacritic, which is sometimes entirely omitted, show that it was a simple sound, not a diphthong: further than this we cannot advance till we have determined more accurately the sounds of *a* and *e*.

It is also clear that the *o* of *long*=*lang* must have been distinct from the regular *o* in *gold*, etc., for otherwise they would have run together and been confused. This conclusion is further confirmed by direct graphic evidence. In the riddles of that well-known collection of Old English poetry, the Exeter Book, the solution is sometimes given in Runic letters written backwards, and in one of them occurs the word COFOAH which, read backwards, gives *haofoc*=*hafoc* (hawk). Here we have an *a* labialized before *f*, as in *of*=*af*, written *ao*, with the evident intention of indicating a sound intermediate between *a* and *o*, just as *æ* points to a sound intermediate between *a* and *e*.

We may now turn our attention to the pronunciations of the modern languages. Disregarding minute shades of sound, we may distinguish three kinds of *a*s in the living Teutonic languages:

1) the mid-back-wide: English *father*, ordinary German *a*.

2) the low-back-wide: Scotch short *a* in *man*.

3) the low-back-narrow: I hear this sound in the South German dialects for both long and short *a*, and in Dutch for the short *a*, especially before *l*.

As to the relative antiquity of these sounds, there can be little doubt that the first is a later modification of the second, and it is very probable that the second is a weakened form of the third. In fact, it may safely be said that this last requires more exertion in its utterance than any other vowel —a fact which easily accounts for its rarity, and also for its preservation in the South German dialects, which, as we shall see hereafter, have preserved their short vowels more purely than any of the other languages.

Are we then to assume that the Old English *a* had this narrow sound? Analogy is certainly in favour of this assumption, but a little consideration will show that it is untenable. If *a* had been narrow, its weakening *æ*, which is simply *a* moved on towards *e*, would also have been narrow, giving no other sound than the low-front-narrow; but this, as we shall see, was the sound of the open short *e*, from which the *æ* is kept quite distinct: the *æ*, therefore, cannot have been narrow, nor, consequently, its parent *a*. But if we suppose the *a* to have had the sound of the Scotch *man*—that is the low-wide—the difficulty is cleared away, and we come to the very probable conclusion that the *æ* had the exact sound of the modern English *man*—the low-front-wide.

The *a* if labialized (or rounded) would naturally give the low-back-round-wide (English *not*), and as there is every reason to believe that the normal *o* was the mid-back-round-narrow, we see that the labialized *a* in *monn*, etc., was exactly half-way between *a* and *o*—a conclusion to which we have already been led by an examination of the graphic evidence.

I.

The only debatable point about the *i* is whether it had the vide sound of the English and Icelandic or the narrow of he German and Swedish short *i*. All we can say is that, lthough it is possible that the wide sound may have been he real one, every analogy is in favour of the narrow.

E.

We must distinguish two kinds of *e*s in the Teutonic lanuages, 1) the *a*-mutation of *i*, as in *helpan*=Gothic *hilpan*, nd 2) the *i*-mutation of *a*, as in *ende*=Gothic and Old High erman *andi*. The two sounds are now confounded in the eutonic languages, but there is clear evidence that they ere formerly distinct, for in the Middle High German oetry the two *e*s are never rhymed together, and the Iceander Þóroddr, in his treatise on orthography, carefully disinguishes the two, stating that the *e* from *a* had a sound which was a mixture of *a* and *e*, implying, of course, that the ther *e* was nearer to the *i* from which it arose.

It has been generally assumed by comparative philologists that there was no distinction between the two *e*s in Old English, but, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] there is unmistakable graphic evidence to prove that there was a distinction, the *e* from *a* being often written *æ*, although this pelling was soon abandoned because of the confusion it aused with the regular *æ* of *dæg*, etc.

Putting all these facts together, remembering that the one was nearer *i*, the other nearer *a*, and yet distinct from the , we can hardly help assigning to the *e* from *i* the sound of he mid-front-narrow, and to the *e* from *a* that of the low-ront-narrow. That the *e* from *a* was narrow need not make ny difficulty, when we consider that the change took place t a much earlier period than that of the development of he *æ* of *dæg*, etc.—in short, at a period in which the *a* was probably narrow in all the Teutonic languages.

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[1] King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care. Introd. . xxiii.

The unaccented *e* in such words as *gebiden*, *ende*, requires to be considered separately. In all the living Teutonic languages which possess this sound—that is to say, all except Icelandic and English—it is the mid-mixed-narrow. But in many of the South German dialects the mid-front-narrow occurs, which is clearly a more ancient sound. That this was the sound of the Old Icelandic unaccented *e* (now written and pronounced *i*) is clear from Þóroddr's expressly adducing the second vowel of *framer* (=*framir*: nom. plur. masc. of *framr*) as an example of the close *e* arising from *i*.

It seems most reasonable to suppose that this pronunciation, which is also preserved to the present day in South Germany, was also the Old English one.

U.

What has been said of *i* applies equally to *u*, namely that analogy is in favour of its having had the narrow German sound rather than the wide English one.

O.

It is quite clear that the sound now given to the regular short *o* in all the Teutonic languages except German—the low-back-wide-round—cannot be the old one; for, as we have seen, this was the sound of the modified *a* before nasals (*monn*, etc.) which is kept quite distinct from the regular *o* in such a word as *oft*. This latter *o* is nothing else than an *a*-mutation of *u* (compare *oft* with Gothic *ufta*): it seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that, as the *a*-mutation of *i* differed from the latter vowel simply in being lowered one degree towards the "low" position of the *a*, the *o* was simply the *u* lowered from its high to the mid position, resulting in the mid-back-narrow-round. Now this is the sound still preserved all over South Germany, and until further evidence is forthcoming it seems to me that we are justified in assuming that the same was the Old English sound.

Y.

This letter, which was originally nothing else but a Greek *Υ*, was adopted into the Roman alphabet to denote the sound of the Greek *u*, which did not exist in Latin. The pronunciation of this Greek *u* is generally agreed to have been that of the French *u* or the German *ü*, and it is clear, from the descriptions of the Roman grammarians, that they attached the same value to their *y*, with which the Greek *u* is invariably transcribed. It is a remarkable fact that while the original sound of the Roman *y* has been quite lost in the Romance languages, it is still preserved in Danish and Swedish. As we know that the Scandinavian nations learned the use of the Roman alphabet from England, this Scandinavian tradition not only confirms the generally-received pronunciation of the Roman *y*, but also affords independent proof of the sound of the letter in Old English.

In its origin *y* is the *i*-mutation of *u*; its sound is therefore, as the Icelander Þóroddr says, "blended together of *i* and *u*," and Þóroddr actually considers *y* to be a combination of these two letters. The sound which fulfils these conditions is clearly that which is still preserved in South Germany, Sweden, and, in many words, in Danish — the high-front-narrow-round. This, then, we may safely assume to have been the Old English sound also.

LONG VOWELS.

AA.

Long *a* in Old English corresponds to an *ai* of the older cognates, Gothic and Old High German, of which it is a simplified form. As the *aa* has been rounded at a later period, and is represented in the present language by the diphthong *ou*, some theorists, who seem incapable of realizing the possibility of sounds changing during the lapse of ten centuries, have assumed that it was labial in the Old English period as well. The answer to this is, that if the sound had been at all labial, it would have been written, at least occasionally, *o* or *oa*, as was actually done at a later period, and as the Old English scribes themselves did in the case of short *a* before nasals: when we find the tenth century scribes writing invariably *stan,* and those of the twelfth century writing as invariably *stoon* or *ston*, it seems simplest to infer that the former meant to indicate *a* and the latter some variety of *o*.

ÆÆ.

There are two long *æ*s in Old English. The commonest is that which corresponds to original *ai*, as in *sǣ*, *dǣl*=Gothic *saiw*, *dail*. The relation of this *ǣ* to the *ā* treated of above is not quite clear. In some words, such as *clǣne*=Old German *kleini*, the *æ* may be explained as an umlaut of *ā*, original *claini* first becoming *clāni* and then *clǣni*. But such words as *sǣ* and *dǣl* do not admit this explanation. It seems therefore simplest to assume that *ǣ* and *ā* are both independent modifications of *ai*, the former being formed by convergence, the latter by loss of the *i*.

The second *ǣ* is that which corresponds to original *ā*, Gothic *ē*, as in *dǣd*=Gothic *dēd*, Old German *tāt*. It is, however, quite clear (as will be shown hereafter) from the Modern English forms that this *ǣ* did not exist in the dialect from which literary English has arisen, but was represented by *ē*, as in Gothic, which is the case even in the West-Saxon in some words, such as *wēn*=Old German *wān*, Gothic *wēn*, and the proper name *Ælfrēd*=Old German *Alprāt*.

The only question about the sound of *ǣ* is whether it was narrow or wide. The analogy of short *æ* would rather point to its being wide, that of the pronunciation of Modern German, in which the *èè*-umlaut of *ā* (*kèèzə*=*kaasi*) is always narrow, rather to narrowness. In fact the long sound of the *æ* in *mæn* is quite unknown in the Modern Teutonic languages. It must also be borne in mind that *ǣ* is probably a much older formation than the short *æ*, and may very well have been developed at a time when all the vowels were still narrow. If so, long *æ* must have been the low-front-narrow.

EE.

Long *ē* corresponds first to original *ā*, although, as already stated, this *ē* often becomes *ǣ* in the West-Saxon dialect. In many words it is a simplification of the diphthongs *eā* and *eō*, as in *nēd*, *ēc*=*neād*, *eāc* (both of which forms are also common), *gēng*=*geōng*. The third and most common *ē* is the *i*-umlaut of *ō*, written *oe* in the oldest documents, as in *grēne* (*groene*)= original *grōni*. The pronunciation of all these *ē*s was probably the same, as they are not distinguished from one another in writing, and cannot well have been any other than the mid-front-narrow.

II, UU,

Correspond to original *ii* and *uu*, which are still preserved in the Scandinavian languages, the Old English *wīn* and *hūs* being now pronounced in Icelandic and Danish *viin*, *huus*. There can be no doubt that the Old English sounds were the same as those still preserved in these languages—the high-front-narrow and the high-back-narrow-round.

OO

Corresponds to original *ō*, as in *gōd*, *mōdor*. The sound was no doubt the same as that still preserved in Danish and Swedish, namely the mid-back-narrow-round, but without the abnormal rounding of the *óó* of these languages.[1]

YY

Is the umlaut of *ū*, as in *mȳs* = *mūsi*, plural of *mūs*. In some words, such as *fȳr* (Old German *viuwar*), it is a simplification of *iu* by diphthongal convergence. Its pronunciation cannot well have been anything else than the high-front-narrow-round.

Diphthongs.

EA.

Whenever original *a* comes before consonant-combinations beginning with *l*, *r*, or *h*, it is not changed into *æ*, but becomes *ea*, as in *eall*, *wearm*, *weax*. There can be no doubt that this *ea* was a true diphthong: its elements are never reversed (p. 23), nor is it confounded with *ae* or *æ*. The only question is whether the stress was on the first or the second element. There is evidence which seems to point to the conclusion that the stress fell on the *a*. In Middle English *ea* is generally lost, but in the archaic fourteenth century Kentish of the Ayenbite, the old diphthong is still preserved in such words as *eald, healden.* But this *ea* is very often represented by *ya*, sometimes by *yea*, so that the Old English *eald* appears as *eald*, *yald* and *yeald*. Here we have the glide-vowel represented by the Middle English consonant *y*, showing clearly that the stress was on the *a*. As to the origin of the *ea*, the theory first propounded by Rapp (Physiologie der Sprache, ii. 145) seems the most probable, namely that *a* first became *æ* before *all* consonants (except nasals), so that *ald* became *æld*, and that this *æ* was then diphthongized into *ea* or rather *æa*.

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[1] See my paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873–4, p. 101).

EO.

Similarly, when *é* comes before *r*, *l* and *h*-combinations, it is diphthongized into *eo*, as in *eorðe, meolc, feoh*. In the Kentish and Northumbrian documents this *eo* is generally represented by *ea*, *eorðe* being written *earðe*. In the word *eart* (from *ért*) *eo* never occurs in any of the dialects—the normal *eort* being unknown even in West-Saxon. When we consider that *é* in Icelandic also is changed into *ia* (*ea* in the oldest MSS.), as in *hiarta*=Old E. *heorte,* there seems to be every probability that *ea* was the older sound, which in *eart* was preserved in all the dialects, on account of its excessive frequency. As *eo* is never (except in *eart*) confused with *ea*=*a* in the standard West-Saxon, we must suppose that the series of changes, *é*, *ea*, *eo*, was already completed when *ea*=*a* began to develope itself. The rounding of *ea* into *eo* is a very curious phenomenon. The frequent rounding of vowels before *l*, of which the Modern English *sòlt* from *salt* is an instance, would lead us to suppose that the change first began before *l*, and then extended to the other words. The analogy of Modern Icelandic, in which the first element of the *ia* has developed into a consonant, and of the Middle Kentish *y* in *yald*, make it very probable that the stress was on the second element.

EAA.

esides the *ea* from *a*, there is another *ea*, which answers riginal *au*, as in *dream*=Gothic *draum*. As this *ea* is inct in origin and in subsequent development from the r *ea*, it must have been distinct in sound. The only ceivable distinctions are stress and quantity, that is, the *au* may have been distinguished either by having the stress he first element, or else by its accented vowel being long. former supposition is made untenable by both the Middle tish *ya*, as in *dyaþ*, and the Norse spelling *Iatvarðr*(=*Játðr*) for *Eadweard:* these examples show that *ea*=*au* had the ss on the same vowel as *ea*=*a*. We are driven, therefore, he hypothesis that *ea*=*au* had its second element long—*am.* This view is confirmed by the Modern English n of the preterite *ceās* (Gothic *kaus*) which is *chóóz*—an maly which is quite inexplicable, except on the assump- of an original long *aa*. The development of the word learly *ce-aas, ce-òòs, chòòs, chóóz*. This seems to be what sk meant by his accentuating *eá*, which Grimm also pted, although Grimm does not seem to have attached idea of lengthening to the accent.

he development of *eaa* out of *au* is one of the most diffi-t questions in Teutonic philology. All the explanations herto given are utterly unsatisfactory, and I will not te time in criticising them, but rather state what I sider to be the only tenable theory, which, as far as I w, has never been made public, although I was glad to n from Professor Kern, of Leiden, that it had suggested lf to him also. The explanation we propose is simply . *aŭ* first became *aa*, as in Frisian. This *aa* followed short *a* and became *ææ*. The *ææ* was then resolved into or *æaa*. We must suppose that these changes took place ore *ai* became *aa:* otherwise there would have been a fusion between *aa*=*au* and *aa*=*ai*. There are, of course, tain difficulties still remaining. The development of a hthong with one of its elements long is anomalous, and would expect the diphthongization of the hypothetical *ææ* to take place, like that of short *æ*, only before certain consonants. It is, however, quite possible that the diphthongization of long *ææ* was much earlier than that of short *æ*, and that the two phenomena are therefore independent. If so, *ææ* may at first have developed into simple *ea* and the lengthening of the *a* may have been a secondary process.

EOO

Answers to original *iu*, as in *deop*=Gothic *diup*. There can be no doubt that this *eo*=*iu* was distinct from the *eo*=*é*, and every analogy would lead us to suppose that the difference was one of quantity. Positive confirmation is afforded by the English *chuuz*, which points as clearly to an Old English *ceóósan* as *chóóz* does to a *ceaas*. The Icelandic *ióó*, as in *kióósa* (Modern *kjousa*), shows the same anomalous lengthening of the second element.

There is some uncertainty about the first elements of these diphthongs. Some clue is however afforded by the interchange of *e* with *i* in *eo* and *eoo*, which never happens with *ea* and *eaa*: we often find such forms as *iorðe* for *eorðe*, but never *hiard* for *heard*. The inference clearly is that in *eo* and *eoo* the initial vowel was closer and higher than in *ea*, *eaa*, probably through the assimilative influence of the second element. The diphthongs are then strictly *éó, éóó, èa, èaa* (or possibly *æa, ææa*).

For the sake of comparison, I append a table giving Mr. Ellis's results (Early English Pronunciation, p. 534) together

LETTERS.	ELLIS.	SWEET.	LETTERS.	ELLIS.	SWEET.
a	*a*, a	*a*	ā	*aa*	*aa*
æ	æ	æ	ǣ	ææ	ᴇᴇ
ò	o	ɔ	ē	ee	*ee*
i	*i*	i	ī	ii	ii
è	e	ᴇ	ō	oo	*oo*
é	e	*e*	ū	uu	uu
u	u, *u*?	u	ȳ	yy, ii	ɪɪ
ó	o	*o*	ea	ea, e*á*	ᴇ*á* (æ*a*?)
y	y, *i*	ɪ	eo	eo, eó	*eó*
			eā	ea, e*á*	ᴇ*áá*
			eō	eo, eó	*eóó*

my own, both in palæotype. It will be observed that Ellis (like all his predecessors) confounds the two short d *os*, which I have carefully distinguished. He is also clear as to the distinction between *ea*, *eo*, and *eā*, *eō*. rwise our results approximate very closely.

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

me important revolutions in orthography took place g the transition from the Old to the Middle period— of them the result of French influence.

ere are many instances of French influence on the con- t notation: in the vowels two cases require special e, these are the use of *u* for the Old English *y*, and of r the Old English *uu*. The explanation of the former ge must be sought in the fact that *y* in the Middle d lost its original value, and became confused with *i*, in the beginning of words it assumed its present con- tal value. The result was that the old sound of *y* was ithout a symbol, and the want was supplied, imperfectly gh, by adopting the French representation of the sound, h was *u*. But *u* was further employed, also in imitation rench usage, to represent the voiced sound of the Old E. that *u*, which still retained its original pronunciation in cases, stood for three distinct sounds. In course of the short *y*-sound disappeared more and more, and at ame time a large number of long *y*s were introduced in s taken from the French, which were all written with *u* *re*, etc.). To remedy the consequent confusion between *y* and *u*=*uu* (*hus*, etc.), the French *ou* was introduced as representation of the latter sound, so that *natyyre* and were distinguished in writing as *nature* and *hous*. For details of the change of *u* into *ou* I must refer to Mr. 's Early English Pronunciation, where the subject is ed at great length.

ese changes are important, as showing that the Middle

English scribes were not at all biassed by traditions of the earlier orthography, and therefore that their testimony can be unhesitatingly accepted, as far as it goes.

We may now turn to the actual sound-changes, beginning with the most important and characteristic of them all, which I will call

VOWEL-LEVELLING.

In the Transition period (Semi-Saxon) we are confronted by the curious and apparently inexplicable phenomenon of a language ignoring, as it were, the changes of an earlier period, and returning to the original sounds. Such is at least the case with the Old English modifications of *a* and *e*: where Old English has *æ*, *ea* or *eo*, Middle English has the unmodified *a* and *e*. Compare *glæd*, *heard*, *seofon*, with the Middle English *glad*, *hard*, *seven*.

Such a change as that of *glæd* into *glad* is doubly anomalous, both as being a return to a pronunciation older than that of the oldest extant documents before the Conquest, and also as a change from a weak front to a strong back vowel. It is, in short, inexplicable, if considered as an ordinary organic sound-change. The explanation must be sought among the inorganic sound-changes, due to some purely external cause.

One of the most unmistakable of these inorganic sound-changes is one which may be called levelling. The whole history of English inflection is mainly one of levelling. Thus, in Old English we find the plural formed in a great variety of ways, sometimes in *as*, sometimes in *an*, sometimes with different vowels, and sometimes without any change at all. In Modern English we have only the first, which, originally restricted to a limited number of masculine substantives, is now extended to all substantives without distinction. It would evidently be absurd to attempt to explain these changes as organic, to adduce, for instance, the change of the Old English plural *heortan* into the Modern *harts* as a case of *n* becoming *s*. They are clearly due to external causes, and are simply the result of that tendency to get rid of useless complexity which characterizes the more advanced stages of language: instead of indicating plurality by a variety of terminations, some of which were of a very vague and indistinct character, the later language selected that termination which seemed the most distinctive, and discarded the rest.

We can now understand how men who were engaged every day of their lives in this levelling process, whose language was being broken up and reconstructed with unexampled rapidity—we can understand how those who spoke the Transition English of the twelfth century came unconsciously to regard the alternation of *æ* and *a* in such words as *dæg, dagas,* as an unnecessary piece of discrimination, comparable to that involved in the use of a large number of plural terminations. And so the indistinct *æ*—so liable to be confounded with *è*—was discarded, and the clear sounding *a* was made the sole representative of the older *a* and *æ*.

When this process of levelling had once begun, it is easy to see how *ea* and *eo* also came to be regarded as superfluous modifications of *a* and *e,* and were therefore in like manner discarded. As we shall see hereafter, *eaa* and *eoo* (=original *au* and *iu*) were simplified into *èè* and *éé* respectively; it is, therefore, probable that *ea* and *eo* themselves were first simplified into *è* and *é*. It is further probable that the first sound of the *è*=*ea* was identical with that of the Old English *æ*. *heard* would, therefore, become *hærd,* whose *æ* would naturally follow the other *æ*s, and become *a,* giving the Middle English *hard.* The three spellings *heard, hærd,* and *hard* are to be found constantly interchanging in Laȝamon and other writers of the period.

Whatever may be the explanation of the fact, there can be no doubt that the Old English *æ, ea, eo,* were lost in the Middle period, and that the mysterious connection between the Old English *æ* and the Modern sound in such a word as *mæn* (written *man*) imagined by some philologists, must be given up: the two *æ*s are quite independent developments, even when they occur in the same words, as in *ðæt, sæt, sæd, æppel.* Mr. Ellis has shown that up to the seventeenth century these words were pronounced *ðat, sat, sad, apl*, eve in the court dialect, and the sound *æ* is unknown up to th present day in most of our dialects.

Before investigating the sound-changes of the Middl period in detail, it will be necessary to state the general law which govern the remarkable qualitative divergence of lon and short vowels in the later Teutonic languages. If it ca once be shown that all the Teutonic languages follow the sam general laws, it is but reasonable to suppose that the sam laws will be found valid in the case of Middle English also We shall have still less hesitation in applying these laws t the elucidation of the Middle English sound-changes, whe we consider that the English of the thirteenth century wa really as much in advance of its contemporaries as Moder English is of its, and that Middle English is practically on level with Dutch and the other living Teutonic languages German, indeed, is in many respects much more archaic tha Middle English, and may be said to stand to it in almost the same relation as Old English does.

I propose, therefore, to give an impartial classification o the principal changes that have taken place in the living Teutonic languages, beginning with the long vowels.

A. Long Vowels.

1) Back to round (p. 11). Long *a*, whatever its origin, has in all the Teutonic languages except German and Dutch been rounded. Even German and Dutch show the same change in many of their dialects, which give long *a* the sound of the low-back-narrow-round (English *fall*). This is also the Swedish and Danish sound, the only difference being that the Scandinavian vowel is pronounced with greater lip narrowing, so that its sound approximates to that of the regular close *ó* (the "mid" vowel).

2) Front-round to unrounded (page 11). Exemplified in the familiar German change of *œ* and *y* into *é* and *i*, as in *shéén* and *kiin* for *shœœn* and *kyyn*. In Modern Icelandic *œœ* became first unrounded, and the resulting *ee* ran

II.

TEUTONIC LONG VOWELS.[1]

	AA	II	OO		UU		AI	AU	IU
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Gothic	*ded*	*wein*	*god*	—	*hus*	—	*stain*	*draum*	*diup*
2 Old High German	*tāt*	*wīn*	*guot*	*gruoni*	*hūs*	*hūsir*	*stain* *stein*	*traum* *troum*	*tiuf*
3 Modern High German	taat	wain	guut	gryyn	haus	hayzer	shtain	traum	tiif
4 Old Saxon	*dad*	*win*	*god*	*groni*	*hus*	—	*sten*	*drom*	*diop*
5 Dutch	daat	wèin	ghut	ghrun	hœys zyyr	—	stéén	dróóm	dip
6 Old Icelandic	*dāð*	*wīn*	*gṓð*	*grǣn*	*hūs*	*kȳr*	*stèin*	*draum*	*diūp* *siōn*
7 Modern Icelandic	dauð	viin	góuð	grain	huus	kiir	stéin	drœim	djuup sjóun
8 Swedish	dòòd	viin	góód	grœœn	h*uus*[2]	lyytə	stéén	drœm	dj*uu*p syyn
9 Danish	dòòð	viin	góóð	grœn	huus	lyyðə	stéén	drœm	dyyb syyn
10 Old English	*dæd*	*win*	*god*	*grene*	*hus*	*cȳ*	*stan*	*dream* (=eaa)	*deop* (=eóó)
11 Middle English	*deed* (=éé)	*wiin*	*good* (=óó)	*green* (=éé)	*hous*(*e*) (=uu)	*kye*	*ston*(*e*) (=òò)	*dream* (=èè)	*deep* (=éé)
12 Modern English	d[illegible]i	wain	gud	griin	haus	kai	stóun	driim	diip

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[1] In this and the following table the actual spelling (not the theoretical pronunciation) of the dead languages is given in italics; the modern forms are written phonetically.

[2] The italics indicate the peculiar Swedish *u*—intermediate to *u* and *y*.

together with the regular *èè*, and, like it, was diphthongized into *ai*, so that the Old Icelandic *bœœkr* is now disguised under the form of *baikər*. The same change took place in Old English, only it was not carried so far: the *bœœk* (written *boec* or *beoc*, p. 23) of the oldest period appears in the later MSS. as *bec* (=*béék*). In Middle English we have the unrounding of *y* into *i*, *cyning* becoming *cing*.

3) Low to mid. Modern English, as will be shown hereafter, affords two unmistakable instances of this change. It is also certain that the German *óó* from *au* was originally "low," for in the Oldest High German such words as *lóós* (=*laus*) are frequently written *laos*. Similar evidence can be adduced in the case of the corresponding Dutch *óó*. The *ee* from *ai* has in like manner passed through the low to the mid stage in German and Dutch.

4) Mid to high. Of this change, again, Modern English affords illustrations, whose consideration must be deferred. Original *óó* has in nearly all the Teutonic languages been raised from the mid position it still preserves in Swedish and Danish (although even here with a slight labial modification in the direction of *u*) to the high one of *u*.

5) High to diphthong. With the high position the extreme is reached, as far as position is concerned. We find, accordingly, that the two high vowels *ii* and *uu* either remain unchanged, which is the case in the Scandinavian languages, or else undergo various modifications in the direction of *ai* and *au*. As there can be no question that Middle English agreed with the Scandinavian languages in retaining long *i* and *u* unchanged, the consideration of their diphthongization may be deferred till we come to the Modern period, to which belongs also the development of the diphthong *iu* out of *yy*.

6) Besides these regular modifications of the two high vowels, there are isolated diphthongizations of other vowels.

- a) *óó* to *ou*. In Icelandic *gouð* for the older *góóð*, and Modern English *stóun* for *stóón*.
- b) *éé* to *éi*. In the Modern English *téik* for *téék*.
- c) *óó* to *uo*. In the Old German *guot* for *góót*, still preserved in South German in the shape of *guət*.

d) *òò* to *au.* In Icelandic, where original *aa* passed through the stage of simple rounding (*òò*), and was then resolved into *au, laata* (let) becoming first *lòòta* and then *lauta.*

e) *èè* to *ai.* The *i*-umlaut of *aa* has in the same way been resolved into *ai* in Modern Icelandic, so that *vèèri* (written *væri*) is now *vairi.*

7) Back to front. Exemplified in the Dutch *zyyr* for *zuur.*

B. Short Vowels.

1) Round to unrounded. In Icelandic, English, and some erman dialects *y* has been unrounded into *i.* The same is he case with short *œ* in German. In Modern English we ave, lastly, a very anomalous case of unrounding of the ack vowel *u, but* becoming *bət.*

2) Back to front. Short *u* has in Icelandic and Dutch een changed into a front vowel—the high-front-wide-round n Icelandic, the low-front-narrow-round (or its imitation, he mid-mixed-narrow) in Dutch. The open *ò* in Icelandic the *u*-umlaut of *a*) has changed into *œ* (the mid-front-wide-ound), *mònnum* becoming *mœnnym.* Short *a* has, lastly, een changed into the low-front-wide (*æ*) in a few English ialects—including the literary English.

3) Mid to low. The two mid vowels *é* and *ó* have in all he Teutonic languages been brought down to the low position, so that the old distinction between *è* and *é* has been st everywhere, except, perhaps, in some German dialects: ompare Old English *ènde, hélpan,* with the Modern levellings *nd, hèlp.*

4) High to mid. As a general rule the high vowels *i* and have retained their positions, but in Dutch the short *i* is ow represented by the mid-front-wide, and the short *u* by *ó* the mid-narrow), thus taking the place of original short *o,* hich, as in the other languages, has been lowered to *ò* (the w-wide): compare *stòk* with *bók* (=*buk*). The peculiar odern English *u* in *but* (*bət*) seems also to be a case of lowerng from high to mid.

III.

TEUTONIC SHORT VOWELS.

	A				I				U				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8	9	10	11	12
1 Gothic	*mann*	*namo* *wakan*	*andi-*	*nati* *mati-*	*winnan*	*witan*	*drigkan* *hilpan*	*stilan*	*sunno*	*sumru*	*ufta*	*hul*	*fulljan*
2 Old Icel.	*mann* *mònnum*	*vaka*	*èndi*	*nèt*	*vinna*	*vita*	*drékka*	*stéla*	*sunna*	*sumar*	*opt*	*hól*	*fylla*
3 Mod. Icel.	man mœnnym	vaaka	èndi	nèèt	v*i*nna[1]	v*i*ita	drèkka	stèèla	synna	syymar	ɔ̀ft	hɔ̀ɔ̀l	f*i*dla *Sw.* fylla
4 Old Engl.	*mann* *heard* *lòng*	*nama*	*ènde*	*mète*	*winnan*	*witan*	*hélpan* *heofon*	*stéla*	*sunne*	*sumor*	*óft*	*hól*	*fyllan*
5 Mid. Engl.	*man* *hard* *long* (=ɔ̀)	*name* (=naam)	*end* (=è)	*meat* (=èè)	*win*	*wit*	*help* *heven* (=è)	*steal* (=èè)	*sun*	*summer* (=sumer)	*oft* (=ɔ̀)	*hole* (=hɔ̀ɔ̀l)	*fill*
6 Mod. Engl.	mænn hæd lòng	néim	ènd	miit	winn	wit	hèlp hèvən	stiil	sən	səmər	ɔ̀ft	hóul	fil

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[1] Italics indicate wide vowels.

e only exception to this general lowering tendency is
requent shifting of the *a* from the low to the mid posi-
which is very common in all the languages. The low
d is still preserved in South Scotch, Dutch, and many
an dialects, and may be heard in some of the London
cts, where, however, it is probably quite a modern de-
ment.

e have, lastly, to consider the important distinction of
w and wide. Here, also, short and long vowels pursue
site courses, the general rule being that long vowels
in or become narrow, short vowels wide. These tenden-
re at once apparent on comparing any pairs of long and
vowels in the more advanced Teutonic languages, in
in all of them more or less, except German.

e principle has been carried out with such strictness in
ase of the long vowels that, with the single exception of
ll originally long vowels are now narrow in the Teutonic
ages. The cause of this exceptional widening of *aa*
lready been explained (page 28) as the result of the
er energy required in the formation of the narrow
l.

e short vowels are less consistent. In the first place,
of the languages show the tendency to widening either
t all, or else only partially. In South German all the
vowels are still narrow, including even the *a* (p. 28).
anish and Swedish short *i* is sometimes narrow, some-
wide, according to the nature of the following con-
t.

e languages in which the principle is most strictly
d out are Icelandic and English. The only exceptions
e *è*, which is narrow in both languages, and the English
ɔt (mid-back-narrow). The retention of the narrow *è*
the Teutonic languages is a very curious phenomenon:
ot easy to see why it did not everywhere weaken into
ide *æ*, which it actually has done in the Dutch *kærk* for
and several other words, and also in the South Scotch
t of Teviotdale, where the English distinction of *mæn*,
is represented by *man, mæn*.

The change of the low-narrow *è* into the mid-wide is, on the other hand, very common, and in many of the languages, as, for instance, English, the two sounds seem to be used almost indiscriminately. This change is, no doubt, a purely imitative one: the change from the low-narrow to the mid-wide must have been direct. To assume that the low-narrow was first widened, and then raised to the mid position, would be to ignore the fundamental laws of short vowel change.

We now see how complete the divergence is between long and short vowels. Long vowels contract both the pharyngal and the oral passage as much as possible, the former by "narrowing," the latter by raising the tongue and contracting the lips; short vowels pursue the very opposite course; high long vowels are never lowered, except partially by diphthongization; high short vowels are never diphthongized, but simply lowered.

QUANTITY.

The general principles on which quantitative changes in the Teutonic languages depend are these:

1) unaccented vowels are shortened, accented vowels are lengthened or shortened under certain conditions, which are:
2) before a single consonant they are lengthened.
3) before double or combined consonants they are shortened.

The result of all these changes, if carried out strictly, would be to eliminate all short accented syllables altogether, and this is actually the case in Modern Icelandic, at least in polysyllables—either the vowel itself is long, or else, if it is short, the syllable is made long by a double consonant. In the other languages, however, the double consonants have been simplified, so that a large number of short accented syllables has been formed: compare Icelandic *vinna* with Danish *vinə* (written *vinde*) and English *winər, wining*, German *gəwinən*. This simplification of double consonants has taken place in Icelandic also in the case of monosyllables such as *man* (written *mann*).

An important result of the simplification is the use of double consonants as a purely graphic expedient to denote the shortness of the preceding vowel. The double *m*, for instance, in *summer*, is simply a way of showing that the original shortness of the *u* has been preserved.

In Icelandic the lengthening of short vowels has been carried out with perfect consistency, but in the other languages there are many exceptions. Thus in Dutch all monosyllables preserve their shortness: compare *vat*, *lòt*, with the plurals *vaatən*, *lóótən*. The retention of original short quantity before single consonants is also very frequent in Modern, and consequently also in Middle English.

The chief cases in which Modern English preserves the Old English short quantity are these.

In the first place the high vowels *i(y)*, *u* are not lengthened: compare *wit* from *witan* with *iit* from *etan*, *sən* from *sunu* and *cəm* from *cuman* with *néim* from *nama*. Exceptions, such as *aivi* from *ifig*, do occur, but they are very few.

English, like Dutch, shows a strong tendency to preserve short quantity in monosyllables, although there are many cases of lengthening. Nevertheless, it may safely be said that the great majority of Old English monosyllables preserve their short quantity in Modern English. Examples are: *swon* (from *swan*), *þæch* (*þæc*), *bæc (bæc)*, *sæd (sæd)*, *lot (hlot)*, *god (god)*, *woz (wæs)*. Examples of lengthening are *géiv (geaf)*, *céim (cam)*, *éit (æt)*, *géit (geat)*, *yóuc (geoc)*. The lengthened vowels in the adjectives *téim* and *léit* may perhaps have arisen from the definite forms *tama*, *lata*.

Dissyllables ending in a vowel, or the infinitival *an*, are almost always lengthened: *nama*, *scamu*, *flotian*, *brecan*, become *néim*, *shéim*, *flóut*, *bréic*. But there are exceptions: *dropa* becomes *drop*, and *hafan* (=*habban*) becomes *hæv*, contrasting with the regular *behéiv* (from *behabban*).

But besides these isolated irregularities, there is a whole class of dissyllables which resists the lengthening tendency, namely those which end in a liquid or nasal. Examples are *hæmər* (from *hamor*), *betər (bèter)*, *sædl (sadol)*, *əvən (ofen)*, *botəm (botom)*. There are, however, several exceptions. In the first place, all the past participles in *o* (except *trodn*) lengthen their vowel: *frouzən*, *chóuzən*, *clóuvən*, etc. There are also others, such as *iivən (efen)*, *óuvər (ofer)*, *eicər (æcer)*, etc.

In applying these deductions to Middle English we are confronted by a formidable difficulty. The Midland writer Orm, as is well known, indicates short vowel quantity by doubling the following consonant. If, then, we find Orm in the thirteenth century writing always *witenn*, *sune*, not *wittenn*, *sunne*, how can we escape the conclusion that he said *wiiten*, *suune?* If we accept the long vowels for the thirteenth century, we are forced to assume that the original short vowels were first lengthened and then shortened again *before* the diphthongization of *ii* and *uu* into *ei* and *ou;* for, otherwise, we should have had *wait* and *saun* in Modern English. Rather than accept this very improbable hypothesis, it seems safer to reserve any decided conclusion till the difficult question of quantity in the Ormulum has been more fully investigated.

The Modern forms of many words point clearly to their originally long vowels having been shortened in the Middle period. Besides the frequent shortening before two consonants, which will be considered hereafter, there are some cases before single consonants. Long *ii* is, as might be expected, often shortened, as in *stif*, *dich*, and in other words where it stands for various other O.E. long vowels, such as *sili*=O.E. *gesǣlig* and *chil*=*cēle*. Examples of other vowels are *ten*=O.E. *ten*, *wet*=*wǣt*, *let*=*lǣtan*, *lēt*. In *ever*=*ǣver* =*æfre*, the shortening may be ascribed to the liquid in the following syllable.

CLOSE AND OPEN EE AND OO IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

We can now enter on the important question of the distinction between close and open *ee* and *oo* in Middle English.

Mr. Ellis, relying on the fact that Chaucer rhymes all the *ees* and *oos* together without distinction, comes to the conclusion that there was only one sound, but he does not explain how the modern distinctions arose, or how it is that they correspond to distinctions in Old English. If *too* and *taa* are distinct in Old English, and are separated in the form of *tuu* and *too* in Modern English also, it is not easy to see how they could have been confounded in the Middle period. This view was vaguely indicated many years ago by Rapp, and has been recently revived by Dr. Weymouth, who is, however, clearly wrong in assuming that the Middle English sounds were identical with the Modern ones.

As the whole question offers considerable difficulties of detail, I propose to examine it as impartially as possible, utilizing all the evidence that is afforded by the graphic forms, by the general laws of change just stated, by the pronunciation of the sixteenth century, as investigated by Mr. Ellis, and by the pronunciation of the present day. I begin with the *oo*s, as offering less difficulty than the *ee*s.

Beginning, then, with the *oo*s, we find that Middle English *oo* corresponds to three distinct sounds in Old English,

1) to *óó:* too, O.E. tóó (*too*),
2) to *aa:* too, O.E. taa (*toe*),
3) to *ó* short: hool, O.E. hól (*hole*).

Of these three *oo*s the two first are kept quite distinct in the present Modern English, original *óó* being now pronounced *uu*, while *oo* from *aa* is now *óó* or *óu*. The natural inference that the two sounds were also kept distinct in the Middle period is fully confirmed by the graphic evidence, for in the earlier writings the *oo* from *aa* is often spelt *oa*, as in *oaðe*= O.E. *aaðe* (Laȝamon), *noan*=*naan* (Procl. of H. III.), *moare* =*maare* (Procl. and A. Riwle), *þoa*=*þaa* (A. Riwle). The clear inference is that the *oo* from *aa* was pronounced with a sound intermediate to *oo* and *aa*, and consequently that original *oo* still retained its Old English sound.

The *oo* of *hool*, arising from original short *ó*, is in the present pronunciation represented by the same vowel as the *oo* from *aa:* it is therefore highly probable that it had in Middle English the same sound as the *oo* from *aa*, namely the more open one.

We may now examine the question from the comparative point of view, and see whether the results harmonize.

The first two *oo*s need not detain us long. We have seen that original *óó* is, as a general rule, either retained without change, or else moved up into the *u*-position. It is quite certain that this change had not taken place in the Middle period: *óó* must, therefore, have been kept unchanged. Again, whenever *aa* has changed, it has been by rounding. It has been already proved that the Old English *aa* cannot well have been any other sound than the low-wide, and this, when rounded, naturally gives the low-back-wide-round.

The *o* of *hol* was almost certainly the mid-narrow sound (p. 30). The tendencies of short vowels are, as we have seen, towards lowering and widening. These modifications, applied to our vowel, give the low-back-wide-round. This vowel was then lengthened, and became identical with the *òò* of *tòò* from *taa*, which, as we have seen, was no other than the low-back-wide-round.

But all long vowels are liable to be narrowed (p. 30), and we find, as a matter of fact, that the *òò* from *aa* is narrow in all the living Teutonic languages which possess it. It is, therefore, not only possible, but extremely probable that the *òò* soon became narrow in Middle English also: *tòò* and *hòòl* would therefore have the sound of the Modern English words which are written *taw* and *haul.*

We may now turn to the *ee*s. In the present English all the *ee*s are levelled under *ii*, but Mr. Ellis's researches have proved that in the sixteenth century a distinction parallel to that of the two *oo*s was still kept up, some of the Middle English *ee*s being pronounced *ee*, some *ii*, those words which are now written with *ea* (such as *sea*) having the *ee*-sound, while *ee* (as in *see*) had the *ii*-sound. The analogy of the *oo*s leads us to suppose that the sixteenth century *ee*s correspond to Middle English *èè*s, and the *ii*s to *éé*s. I will now give an example of the different *ee*s, with the original Old English forms, together with those of the sixteenth century and the Middle English forms indicated by them, adding the present English spelling, which is, of course, nothing but a dead tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries pronunciation.

TENTH CENT.	FOURTEENTH CENT.	SIXTEENTH CENT.	NINETEENTH CENT.
sǣ	sèè	séé	sii (*sea*)
dǣd	dééd	diid	diid (*deed*)
dreām	drèèm	dréém	driim (*dream*)
grēne	gréén	griin	griin (*green*).
deōp	déép	diip	diip (*deep*)
mète	mète mèèt	méét	miit (*meat*)
stélan	stèlan stèèl	stéél	stiil (*steal*)

Reserving for the present the apparently anomalous *éé* of *déèd*, the other changes, after what has been said on the *oo*s, call for only a few remarks.

Old English *ǣ* and *ē* remain unchanged in the Middle period. Of the two diphthongs *eā*, when simplified, naturally takes the low position of its principal element (the *ā*), and *eō*, as naturally, takes the mid position of its *ō*. *é*, following the usual tendencies of short vowels, is lowered, and the two short *e*s are consequently levelled under the common form *è*, which is afterwards lengthened. All the vowels either remain or become narrow.

An important class of apparent exceptions is exemplified in *dǣd*, whose *ǣ* is represented in Middle English not by *èè*, as would be expected, but by *éé*. An examination of these anomalous *ǣ*s soon reveals the fact that they correspond not to Gothic and general Teutonic *ai*, but to Gothic *ē*, general Teutonic *ā* (Gothic *dēds*, Old High German *tāt*). This is clearly one of the many cases in which the explanation of later English forms must be sought not in the literary West-Saxon, but rather in the Mercian dialect, in which the distinction between *éé*=original *aa* and *èè*=*ai* was still kept up. In short, the Middle English *déèd* is descended not from *dǣd*, but from *dēd*. Traces of this older *éé* have been preserved in West-Saxon also, not only in such words as *wēn* and *cwēn*, but also in the *rēd* of the name *Ælfrēd*, which is never written *rǣd*—the regular form of the substantive *rǣd*, when it stands alone.

UNACCENTED E.

Middle English, like the majority of the living Teutonic languages, levels all the Old English unaccented vowels under *e:* compare Old E. *caru, nama, gifan,* with the Middle forms *care, name, given.* The sound of this *e* in Modern German, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch, is the mid-mixed-narrow, although, as we have seen (p. 30), there are traces of an older front sound, which we have theoretically assigned to the Old English final *e.* When we consider that the Middle English *e* in the fourteenth century was on the verge of extinction, we cannot well claim for it so archaic a sound as in Old English, and the analogy of the modern languages points clearly to some mixed vowel. Nor is graphic evidence wanting. The confusion and uncertainty of usage in the Middle English orthography shows clearly that the scribes were not satisfied with the letter *e* as a representative of the sound of unaccented *e.* In Wiclif's Bible, for instance, we find, besides the regular *ende, synnes,* such spellings as *mannis, mannys, fadir, opyn, writun, locustus,* constantly occurring. It is not improbable that the *u* is intended for the French *u* (=*y*), and that this spelling is an attempt to represent the obscure sound of the mid-mixed, which, like all the mixed vowels, has a distinctly *labial* effect on the ear (p. 16).

DIPHTHONGS.

Middle English, while simplifying, as we have seen, the Old English diphthongs, developed some new ones of its own. All the Middle English diphthongs, with the exception of those in words taken from Norse and French, arose from weakening of the consonants *g* and *w,* by which *g* passed through *gh* (as in German *sagen*) into *i* or *u,* and *w* into *u.* The most important of these diphthongs are *ai, au, eu,* and *ou.*

ai arises from O.E. *ag* (*æg*), *ég, èg, ēg, ǣg:* *dai* (from *dæg*), *wai* (*wég*), *sai* (*sècgan*), *hai* (*hēg*), *clai* (*clǣg*).

au arises from O.E. *aw, ag:* *clau* (*clawu*), *drau* (*dragan*).

eu arises from O.E. *iw, īw, ǣw, eāw, eōw: neu* (*niwe*), *speu* (*spīwan*), *leud* (*lǣwed*), *heu* (*heāwan*), *cneu* (*cneōw*).

ou (*òòu, óóu*) arises from O.E. *āw, ōw: sòòu* (*sāwan*), *blóóu* (*blōwan*).

The development of *ai* from *èi* (*sai*=*sèi*=*sècgan*) is paralleled by the Danish pronunciation of *ei* (as in *vei*=*veg*) as *ai*, and is probably the result of an attempt to bring out the diphthongic character of the combination more clearly. There are, however, traces of original *ei* even in the Modern period, in such words as *eiht, eiðer*=*eahta, ægðer*.

It will be observed that *ag* sometimes becomes *ai*, sometimes *au*. The general rule is that *ag* final or before a consonant becomes *ai*, while, if followed by the back vowels *a* or *u*, the diphthong *au* is developed. Thus, *dag* (*dæg*), *tagl* (*tægl*), *magn* (*mægen*), become *dai, tail, main*, while *dragan, sagu*, become *drau, sau*. We have, however, *sau* from *sage*.

The change of *i* into *eu* in the combination *iu*, and the levelling of the quantities of *iw, īw*, etc., must be noticed, although the cause is not apparent.

That the *oou*-diphthongs preserved the long quantity of their first elements is clear from the accounts of the sixteenth century phoneticians; the separation of *òòu* and *óóu* is theoretical.

In the combinations *ig* and *ug* the consonant is naturally absorbed by the vowel, the result being simply a long vowel: *lii* (*licgan*), *uul* (*ugle*).

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

Quantity. Short vowels are lengthened before liquids and nasals followed by a voice stop—before *ld, nd, mb* (often also before *rd* and a few other *r*-combinations). Thus Old English *wilde, findan, climban*, become *wiild, fiind, cliimb*, the length of whose vowels is shown by the modern forms *waild, faind, claim*. Exceptions can be explained on the same principle as the other cases of the abnormal retention of original short quantity, namely, by the presence of a liquid in the second syllable; hence *hinder, wunder, timber*, not *hiinder*, etc.

Quality. *a* before *ld* is rounded into *ò*, and then, in accordance with the rule just stated, lengthened, so that the Old English *sealde* passes through *salde* into *sòlde,* and finally becomes *sòòlde,* whence the Modern *sóóld.*

The rounding of short *a* before nasals, which almost disappeared towards the end of the Old English period, at least in West-Saxon, crops up again in Middle English. An examination of the present forms gives the following rules for the occurrence of *ò*=*a* before nasals. Most of the cases of rounding are before *ng,* the general rule being that while verb preterites keep *a,* all other words have *ò*. Thus we have the substantive *song,* but the preterite *sang.* Exceptions are *hang* and *fang,* which should regularly be *hong, fong.* Rounding before *n* and *m* is exceptional: the only examples are *on, bond, from, wóómb, còòmb.*

Initial *w* influences the following vowel in various ways. Sometimes it assimilates *i* into *u,* which then absorbs the *w* itself, as in *such*=*swich*=O.E. *swilc.* Occasionally it draws up *òò* to the *óó*-position, as in *twóó* for *twòò, wóómb* for *wòòmb,* contrasting with the regular *wòò, wòòd* (O.E. *wā, wād*). Hence, by the regular changes, the Modern *twuu, tuu, wuum(b), wóó, wóód.*

We may now sum up briefly the changes of the Middle period.

a is preserved, except before *ld,* where it is rounded, and *æ* and *ea* are levelled under it.

è and *é,* together with *eo,* are levelled under *è*.

y is confounded with *i,* which remains unchanged, except that it was probably widened.

ó becomes *ò,* and *ò* is kept unchanged.

u remains, although probably widened.

a, è, and *ò* are often lengthened, giving *aa, èè* and *òò.* It will be observed that the Old English *é* and *ó* are not lengthened into *éé* and *óó,* but pass through *è* and *ò* into *èè* and *òò.*

Of the long vowels *ǣ, ē, ī, ō, ū* remain unchanged.

ȳ becomes *ii.*

ā becomes *òò.*

the diphthongs *eā* becomes *èè*, *eō* becomes *éé*.

ıw diphthongs are developed by the weakening of *g* *ɒ*.

ıaccented vowels are levelled under *ə*.

ort vowels are often lengthened before liquids followed ıice stops.

MODERN PERIOD.

LOSS OF FINAL E.

e loss of final *e* in English is one of the many instances ·w the whole grammatical structure of a language may bverted by purely phonetic changes, for it may safely ıd that the loss of final *e* in Modern English is almost alent to loss of inflexion altogether. Middle English, ıgh much reduced, was still distinctly an inflexional .age, as much so at least as Modern Danish or Swedish: rbs had infinitive and plural endings, and its adjectives retained some of their old inflexions, including the ıarly Teutonic distinction of definite and indefinite. odern English all this is lost: not only is the distinc- ɔf definite and indefinite lost, but our adjectives have ıe absolutely indeclinable, and the whole spirit of .sh is now so different from that of the other Teutonic ages, that their most familiar distinctions are quite ʒe to us, and can only be acquired with considerable ılty.

ə loss of final *e* marks off English sharply and distinct- m the cognate languages, in all of which it is strictly :ved. Those who have such difficulty in admitting, ıfter the clearest evidence, that Chaucer may possibly pronounced the final *e*, should try to realize to them- the fact that the loss of final *e* is really quite an tional and anomalous phenomenon: instead of being sed at Chaucer still retaining it, they should rather be sed at its loss at so early a period as the fifteenth ry, while preserved to the present day in all the cognate ages.

An important result of the loss of final *e* was to prevent change in other directions: we shall find that the Middle English sounds were preserved almost unchanged long after its disappearance. Mr. Ellis's researches have shown that the most characteristic features of Middle English, as, for instance, *ii* and *uu*, were preserved some way into the sixteenth century; others, such as the old *ai* and *au*, still later.

But the tendency to change soon begins to manifest itself, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century we find many important changes either completed, or else in partial operation. During the latter half of the seventeenth century the whole phonetic structure of the language may be said to have been revolutionized. Some slight further changes took place during the first half of the eighteenth century, and by the middle of the century the language finally settled down into nearly its present state. We may, therefore, distinguish roughly five periods of Modern English.

1) the *Earliest* (1450–1500 or rather later), which preserves the sounds of the Middle period unchanged, except that it throws off the final *e*. I propose, therefore, for the sake of convenience, to cite the Middle English forms in this Earliest Modern English, which is really equivalent to Latest Middle English.

2) the *Early* (1550–1650), in which the Middle sounds were distinctly modified, *ii* and *uu* being diphthongized, and *éé* and *óó* moved up to the high positions of *ii* and *uu*, *èè* and *òò* being moved into the vacant mid positions.

3) the *Transition* period (1650–1700), characterized by very important and sweeping changes, such as the simplification of the Middle diphthongs *ai* and *au*, the fronting of *a* and *aa* into *æ*, *ææ*, and the development of the peculiarly English *ə* from *u*.

4) the *Late* period (1700 onwards), in which the long vowels of the Transition period undergo a process of lingual narrowing, *ææ* passing through *èè* into *éé*, while *éé* itself becomes *ii*.

5) the *Latest* period, remarkable for its excessive tendency

diphthongization, especially in the case of *éé* and *óó*,
ich are in the present generation almost always *éi* and *óu*.
t is probable that many of the distinctive features of this
iod existed already in the previous period, either as indi-
ual peculiarities or as vulgarisms. It is certain that in
present generation many new pronunciations, which are
lly very widely distributed, are entirely ignored, or else
ounced as vulgarisms, even by the people who employ
m habitually. These unrecognized pronunciations are of
kinds, 1) those which, though ignored by every one, are
niversal use, and 2) those which appear only sporadically
ducated speech, although many of them are firmly estab-
ed in the language of the populace. As these pronuncia-
s are of great philological importance, as showing us the
nges of sound in active operation, and as they have been
herto quite ignored by phoneticians, I propose to treat of
m hereafter as fully as my imperfect observations will allow.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD.

, *aa*. Mr. Ellis's authorities seem to describe a very thin
nd of the *a*, although the *æ* of the following period does
seem to have been recognized. I think it very probable
t the real sound was that of the present Danish *a* in *mand*,
e, which is the mid-back-wide-forward, the tongue being
anced considerably, while the tip is kept down. When
tongue is in this position, a very slight raising of the
dle of it towards the palate converts this forward *a* into
hich it closely resembles in sound.

, *i*, *o*. As these vowels are retained unchanged in the
ent English, any discussion of their pronunciation in the
ly Modern period is superfluous.

. That *u* still retained its original sound is clear from
statements of the phonetic authorities. Salesbury writes
ith his Welsh *w*, as in *bwck*=*buck*.

. It is interesting to observe that there are distinct
es of the old short *y* in the Early Modern period. Clear
ence is afforded by a passage of Salesbury, which I think

Mr. Ellis has misunderstood. Salesbury says (E. E. P. pp. 111, 164) that "Welsh *u* soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these words of English, *trust, bury, busy, Huberden.*" Mr. Ellis thinks that Salesbury means nothing but the wide as opposed to the narrow *i*. It seems improbable that so minute a distinction should have been noticed by Salesbury—still more that, even if he had noticed it, he should have gone out of his way to describe it. Nor do I agree with Mr. Ellis in considering the distinction between the Welsh *u* and the wide *i* as being very slight. My own observations of the Welsh *u*, as pronounced in North Wales, fully confirm Mr. Bell's identification of it with the high-mixed-wide vowel (although it seems to be narrow when long), which Mr. Ellis also adopts, but the sound seems to me to be as distinct from *i* as the unaccented German *e* (the mid-mixed-narrow) is from *é* (the mid-front), and to be much more like *y* than *i* (p. 16). I think Mr. Ellis has been led astray by Mr. Bell's identification of the unaccented *e* in *fishes*, etc., with this high-mixed vowel, which I believe to be erroneous. Mr. Bell acutely observed that the *e* in *fishes* was not identical with the preceding *i*, and being unable to find a place for it among his front vowels, fell back on the mixed. I find, however, that the real distinction is that the unaccented vowel is the high-front-wide lowered half-way to the mid position, a sound which Dr. Murray recognizes in Scotch, and writes (é).[1]

That the Welsh *u* sounded to Salesbury himself very like *y* is clear from his express statement that the French *u*, the German *ü*, and the Scotch *u*, closely resembled his own *u* (E. E. P. p. 761). If, now, we examine the four English words given by Salesbury, we shall find that the history of all of them points decisively to the *y*-sound. *Bury* and *busy* are in Old English *bebyrgan* and *bysig*, *trust* is the Norse *treysta*, a diphthong which could not well contract into any vowel but *y*, and the first half of *Huberden* is probably the French *Hubert*, which, of course, had the *y*-sound. What

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[1] Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 106.

Salesbury's statement amounts to is, therefore, that these three words (for we may pass over the last) were in the sixteenth century pronounced by the vulgar *tryst, byri, byzi.*

Although Salesbury characterizes these pronunciations as vulgar, it is quite clear, from the retention of the French spelling *u*=*y* in all of them up to the present day, that the old pronunciation must have been kept up some way into he Modern period. Whenever we find a word written with *y* in Old English, and with *u* in the present spelling, we may suppose it preserved the *y*-sound in the beginning, at least, of the Modern period. Such words are:

burden (bəədn)...	O.E. byrðen...	M.E. burþen, birþen, berþen
bury (beri)...	bebyrgan...	burien, birien, berien
busy (bizi)...	bysig...	busi, bisi, besi
church (chəəch)...	cyrice (early O.E. cirice)...	churche, chirche, cherche
much (məch)...	mycel (early O.E. micel)...	muche(l), michel, mechel, moche
shut (shət)...	scyttan...	schutten, schitten, schetten

There are besides two interesting words in which the *y*-sound is expressed by the digraph *ui*, which are:

build (bild)...	O.E. byldan...	M.E. build, buld, bild, beld
guilt (gilt)...	gylt...	gult, gilt, gelt

The correspondence between the Old, Modern, and Middle forms, the latter (which are taken from Stratmann's Dictionary), with their constant alternation between *u* and *i*, requires little comment. It is quite clear that the ambiguous *u* and *i* were considered unsatisfactory representations of the *y*-sound, and recourse was therefore had to the digraph *ui*, which, as we see, was employed both in the Middle and Modern periods. The forms in *e* point to a previous lowering of the *y* to one of the *æ*-positions. The *o* of *moche* seems to show that there was a spoken, and not merely written form *muche* in the Middle period, with an anomalous change of *y* into *u*.

These words evidently caused considerable embarrassment to the phonetic writers of the Early Modern period, for they had no proper sign for short *y*, and were compelled to identify it with the long French *yy* in *myyz* (written *muse*), or else, if they wished to preserve its quantity, to confound it with short *i*. I will now give the sixteenth century pronunciations of these words, as deduced by Mr. Ellis. I hav not made any alteration in his spelling, except in the case o Salesbury's *u*, which I have written *y*, as there seems to m to be no doubt that this was the sound intended by him. I have not thought it necessary to add the authorities, excep in the case of Salesbury.

burden: u,
bury: y (Sa.).
busy: y (Sa.).
church: y (Sa.), yy, i, u.
much: i, u? y?
shut: i.
build: yy, ii, i, ei (=Middle E. ii).
guilt: i.

The long *yy* in *chyyrch* is probably a mere inaccuracy of Smith's, for Salesbury writes distinctly *tsurts*, not *tsuwrts*, as he would have done had the vowel been long. The *yy* of *byyld* may, on the other hand, be correct, for *y* may very well have been lengthened before *ld*, as *i* is (*wiild*=O.E. *wilde*).

The *u*s in these words (except perhaps in *much*) I am inclined to regard as mere pedantry—the attempt to conform the pronunciation to the spelling, of which we have numerous instances in that very pedantic age. Of this artificial *u* for *y* the foreign word *just* is a striking example. This word was certainly never pronounced with *u* in the Middle period, and even at the present day the legitimate descendant of the old *jyst* is still to be heard from all uneducated and many educated speakers in the form of *jist*. Yet we find the artificial *u*-pronunciation already insisted on in the sixteenth century.

ii, uu. Although long *ii* and *uu* were still preserved at the beginning of the Early Modern period, they soon began to be diphthongized. Salesbury writes *ei* and *ow*, as in *wein* (=*wiin*), *ddow* (=*ðuu*), probably meaning *éi*, *óu*. There seem also to be indications of a broader pronunciation, *əi*, *əu*, which, as we shall see, became general in the following period. It is, then, clear that *ii* and *uu* were first modified by partial lowering, *i-i*, *u-u*, becoming *é-i*, *ó-u*, and that the resulting diphthongs were then exaggerated by divergence—a not unfrequent phenomenon.

èè, éé, òò, óó. The history of these vowels in Modern English affords a striking example of the Teutonic tendency to narrow long vowels, each of them being raised a step, so that *éé* and *óó* become *ii* and *uu,* as in *diid*=Middle E. *déèd* and *suun*=*sóón*, while *èè* and *òò* become *éé, óó,* as in *dréém*=Middle E. *drèèm* and *bóón*=*bòòn* (O.E. *bān*).

In one word, the Middle E. *òò* has been preserved up to the present day, and, we may therefore assume, in the Early Modern period also, namely, in the adj. *bròòd*=O.E. *brād.*

ai, au, eu, òòu, óóu. The Middle English diphthongs are generally preserved, although there are traces of the simplification of *ai* and *au,* which was fully carried out in the following period. *eu* was also simplified into *yy* in some words, such as *tryy, nyy,* while in others, such as *heu, sheu,* it was preserved. *óóu* did not, as might be expected, become *uu,* but its first element was kept unchanged, so that *blóóu* (=O.E. *blōwan*) has remained unchanged up to the present day. *òòu* seems to have changed regularly into *óóu, cnòòu* (=O.E. *cnāwan*) becoming *cnóóu:* the two *oou*s were therefore levelled.

QUANTITY.

Middle English *èè* seems to have been shortened very early in the Modern period in some words which still preserve in writing the *ea*=Middle E. *èè.* Such words are *dèf, instèd, hèd, rèd* (partic.), *lèd* (subst.), *dèd, brèd,* and several others. Nearly all the cases, it will be observed, occur before *d.* We shall find the same tendency to shorten before a stopped consonant in the Late Modern period as well.

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

The most important case is the development of *u* before *l* in the combinations *al* and *óól* (=Middle E. *òò*), *al, talk, óóld,* becoming *aul, taulk, óóuld.* The form *aul* is the origin of our present *òòl, tòòk.*

The only traces of *r*-influence, so marked in the present period, are shown in the occasional conversion of *e* into *a*, as in *hart*, *smart*, for the older *hert*, *smert*.

TRANSITION PERIOD.

We now come to the most important and difficult period of Modern English, in which the vowels of the language may be said to have broken away entirely from the Middle English traditions, and entered on a new life of their own. It is therefore fortunate that the phonetic authorities of this period are of a far higher stamp than those of the preceding one: many of their observations are extremely acute, and are evidently the result of careful study of the actions of the vocal organs.

SHORT VOWELS.

e, *i*, *o*, remain unchanged, as in the previous period. It is interesting to observe that we now, for the first time, find the qualitative distinction between short and long *i* and *u* recognized by one of Mr. Ellis's authorities. The following is Cooper's list of exact pairs of long and short vowel-sounds (E. E. P. p. 83).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
can	ken	will	folly	full	up	meet	foot
cast	cane	weal	fall	foale	—	need	fool

which Mr. Ellis interprets thus (denoting the wide vowel by italics):

cæn	kèn	w*i*l	fòli	f*u*l	əp	mit	fut
cææst	kèèn	wéél	fòòl	fóól	—	niid	fuul

It is clear that, as Mr. Ellis remarks, Cooper was dissatisfied with the usual pairing of *i*, *ii*, and *u*, *uu* (*fil*, *fiil*), and therefore tried to find the true short-narrow *i* and *u* in *miit* and *fuut*, where the *ii* and *uu* were probably shortened before the voiceless *t*, as is still the case. Again, he lengthened the short wide *i* and *u*, and finding that the resulting long vowel was nearly identical with the mid-narrow *éé* and *óó*, naturally identified them as the true longs and shorts. It must be observed that the *u* of *fuut* has not only been shortened to *fut* in the present English, but has also had time to follow the usual tendencies of short vowels, and become wide. The shortening is, therefore, in all probability, of some antiquity. If, then, we suppose that the long *uu* of *fuut* had been shortened to *u* in Cooper's time, and had not yet been widened, we see that the pairing of *fut* and *fuul* may very well have been perfectly accurate, both as regards quality and quantity.

In the pairs *folly*, *fall*, Mr. Ellis makes the short *o* of *folly* to correspond exactly with the long *òò*, and assumes it to be narrow. This, I think, is unnecessary. It is clear that Cooper's analysis is not absolutely accurate; it is only a considerable step in advance. He may very well have considered the distinction between *òò* and *óó* quite minute enough, and may therefore have disregarded the further refinement of distinguishing narrow and wide *ò*.

a. The present *æ*-sound is clearly recognized by the seventeenth-century phoneticians. Wallis describes *a* (both long and short) as a palatal, as opposed to a guttural vowel —as being formed by compressing the air between the middle of the tongue and the palate with a wide opening. And the Frenchman Miege identifies the English short *æ* with the French *e ouvert*, which would certainly be the nearest equivalent.

u. The change of the old *u* into *ə* was fully established in the Transition period, and it is clear from the descriptions given of the sound that it closely resembled the present one: Wallis calls it an obscure sound, and compares it with the French *eu* in *serviteur*, while Miege compares it with the French *o*—a common error of foreigners at the present day, and both Wallis and Wilkins identify it with one of the pronunciations of Welsh *y*, which is generally identified with our *ə*.

Before going any further, it will be necessary to consider the present pronunciation, or rather pronunciations, of the *ə* more closely. There are two distinct sounds of the *ə*—the high-back-wide and the mid-back-narrow, which, although formed so differently, are so similar in sound that even practised ear finds it often difficult to distinguish the Besides these two, a third sound may be heard in man English and Scotch dialects, which is the low-back-narro

Different as these three vowels are, they all agree in bein unrounded back vowels, and it is clear from the seventeent century statements that the main distinction between *u* and was then, as it is now, that *u* was rounded, *ə* not. Now i is quite certain that *u* itself was, in the seventeenth centur the high-back-wide-round (which it still is in those word such as *wulf*, in which the *u* has been exceptionally retained) unrounded, this vowel would naturally become the high-back-wide—the very sound still in common use. The probability that this was also the seventeenth-century sound i raised almost to a certainty by the statement of Wallis, tha the sound is formed with the greatest of the three degrees o closeness of the lingual passage (between tongue and palate) recognized by him. Wilkins's statement that the sound is "framed by a free emission of the breath from the throat," and, again, that it is formed "without any particular motion of the tongue or lips," may be considered as evidence that some such sound as the present mid-back-narrow was also given to the *ə*, but it is quite as probable that the whole description is inaccurate.

The general conclusion I arrive at is, that *u* was first unrounded, and that the resulting high-back-wide was in some pronunciations imitated by the mid-back-narrow, which in some dialects was, in accordance with the tendencies of short vowels, brought down to the low position.

Long Vowels.

éé, *óó*. The close *éé* and *óó*=Middle English *èè* and *òò*, are distinctly recognized. Wallis states that "*e* profertur sono acuto claroque ut Gallorum *é* masculinum," and Cooper, as we have seen (p. 522), pairs *full* and *foal* as long and short, which he could not have done if the *oa* of *foal* still had the broad *òò*-sound.

ei, ou. The diphthongization of Middle English *ii* and *uu* is carried a step further than in the previous period; all the authorities agree in either identifying, or, at least, comparing the first element of the two diphthongs with the *ə* of *bət.* *wiin* and *ðuu* appear, therefore, in the Transition period as *wəin* and *ðəu*—very nearly their present form.

ai, au. An important change of this period, although partially developed, as Mr. Ellis has shown, much earlier, is the simplification of the old diphthongs *ai* and *au* into *ee-* and *oo*-vowels. Those writers of the Early period who acknowledge the simple sounds do not give any clue to their precise nature, but the seventeenth century accounts point clearly to *èè* and *òò*, which latter is the sound still preserved in such words as *lòò*, *hòòk*=*lau, hauk,* although *èè*, as in *dèè*=*dai,* has been moved up to *éé*, probably because the Early Modern *éé* has become *ii* in the present English.

The above changes were either already in operation in the Early Modern period, or were at least prepared by previous changes: the next two are peculiar to the Middle period.

aa. Long, like short, *aa* was changed to the front vowel *æ*, *naam* becoming *nææm.* The *ææ*, being a long vowel, was soon narrowed into *èè*, as is shown by Cooper's pairing *ken* (=*kèn*) and *cane* (=*kèèn*) as long and short.

yy. Long *yy*, both in English words such as *nyy*, and French such as *tyyn*, was diphthongized into *iu*, *nyy* and *tyyn* becoming *niu* and *tiun.* The older *yy* was, however, still preserved by some speakers, and we have the curious spectacle of the two contemporaries Wallis and Wilkins ignoring each other's pronunciations, Wilkins asserting that the sound of *yy* is "of laborious and difficult pronunciation," especially "to the English," while Wallis considered this very *yy*-sound to be the only English pronunciation of long *u*.

It was probably the influence of this new *iu* that changed the older *eu* into *iu*, *heu*, etc., becoming *hiu*, whence by consonantization of the first element of the diphthong the present *hyuu.*

IV.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF ENGLISH SOUND-CHANGES.

Old English.	Middle English.	Modern English.
1 mann	man	mæn
sæt (=sat)	sat	sæt
heard (=hard)	hard	haəd
nama	naam	néim
5 ènde (=andi)	ènd	ènd
hélpan (=hilpan)	hèlp	hèlp
seofon	seven	sevən
mète (=mati)	mèèt	miit
stélan (=stilan)	stèèl	stiil
10 sǣ (=saiw)	sèè	sii
dǣd (=dād)	dééd	diid
dreām (=draum)	drèèm	driim
grēne	gréén	griin
seō	séé	sii
15 witan	wit	wit
hyll	hil	hil
wīn	wiin	wain
fȳr	fiir	fair
óft (=ufta)	òft	òft
20 òn (=an)	òn	òn
hól	hòòl	hóul
tā	tòò	tóó
tō	tóó	tuu
sunu	sun	sən
25 hūs	huus	haus
dæg	dai	déi
sècgan	sei, sai	séi
lagu	lau	lòò

LATE MODERN PERIOD.

The further changes of the eighteenth century are comparatively slight. The short vowels remain unchanged.

The only long vowels which undergo any modification are the *ee*s. In the first place the *éé*s of the preceding period are raised to *ii*, *dréém* becoming *driim*, the result being that the Middle English *èè* and *éé* are both confused under *ii*. The word *gréét*=M.E. *grèèt* (O.E. *greāt*) is an example of exceptional retention of the older *éé*.

èè from *aa* and *ai* is raised to the mid-position of *éé*, left vacant by the change of *éé* into *ii*, *nèèm* from *naam* and *sèè* from *sai* becoming *néém* and *séé*.

òò and *óó* are, on the other hand, retained unaltered. We see, therefore, that the fully-established pronunciation of the eighteenth century differed but slightly from that now in use.

QUANTITY.

The Early Modern *uu* from *óó* is often shortened before stops, almost always before *k*, frequently before other stops, and occasionally before other consonants. Examples are: *luk* (=Middle E. *lóók*), *tuk* (*tóók*), *buk* (*bóók*), *stud* (*stóód*), *gud* (*góód*), *fut* (*fóót*), *huf* (*hóóf*), *buzəm* (*bóózom*).

Other cases of shortening are doubtful, as they probably took place in the Early period: even the changes just considered may have been, at least partially, developed in the Transition period.

The lengthening of vowels before certain consonants will be considered in the next section.

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

Some important modifications are produced in this period by consonant influence, which has, in some cases, also had a conservative effect in preserving older sounds, which would otherwise have undergone various modifications.

The most marked influence is that exercised by the *r*. So strong is it, indeed, that in the present English hardly any vowel has the same sound before *r* as before other consonants. One important result of this is that the *r* itself becomes a superfluous addition, which is not required for distinguishing one word from another, and is therefore weakened into a mere vocal murmur, or else dropped altogether, although always retained before a vowel.

The following table will give a general view of these modifications. The first column gives the Middle English vowels, the second gives what would be their regular representatives in Late Modern English, the third gives the forms they actually assume, and the last column gives examples with the Middle E. forms in parentheses:

ar	ær	aar	haaəd (hard)
ir	ir	əər	þəəd (þird)
èr	èr	əər	swəəv (swerv)
ur	ər	əər	təəf (turf)
òr	òr	òòr	nòòəþ (norþ)
aar	éér	èèr	fèèr (faar)
air	éér	èèr	fèèr (fair)
éér	iir	iiər (èèr)	diiər, ðèèr (déér, ðéér)
èèr	iir	iiər (èèr)	iiər, bèèr (èèr, bèèr)
óór	uur	uuər, òòr	muuər, flòòr (móór, flóór)
òòr	óór	òòr	mòòr (mòòr)
iir	air	aiər	faiər (fiir)
uur	aur	auər	sauər (suur)

The sympathy between *r* and the broad (low or back) vowels, which is also shown in the older change of *ster*, etc., into *star*, is evident enough here also. In such words as *fèèr* the seventeenth-century sound of long *aa* has been preserved almost unchanged, while in *flòòr* the *r* has not only prevented the regular change into *uu*, but has even lowered the vowel from the *óó-* to the *òò*-position.

In many cases it is doubtful whether the influence of the *r* has been simply conservative, or whether the change—say of *hard* into *hærd*—actually took place, and that the influence of the *r* afterwards changed the *æ* into *a*. The change of *a* into *æ* certainly seems to have been fully carried out in the Transition period before *r* as well as the other consonants, if we may trust the phonetic authorities; but it is quite possible that the older *a*s may have remained throughout as vulgarisms, and soon have regained their lost ground.

The levelling of *ir*, *er*, and *ur*, which are kept quite distinct by the phoneticians of the Transition period, is a very curious phenomenon, as it has resulted in an entirely new vowel, which only occurs in these combinations. This vowel is the low-mixed-narrow. It is evidently closely allied to the regular short *ə* in *bət*, and it seems most probable that the first change was to level *ir*, *er*, and *ər* under *ər* (mid-back-narrow), which would then, by the further influence of the *r*, pass into the low-back-narrow, whence to the low-mixed-narrow is but a short step. Then the vowel was lengthened, and the *r* absorbed.

The influence of *l* is, like that of *r*, in the direction of broadening. In the combinations *alf* and *alm* original short *a* is preserved, the *l* is dropped and the vowel lengthened, so that *half* and *salm* (written *psalm*) become *haaf* and *saam*. In the Early period some of these words developed the usual *au*, but the present forms cannot have arisen from *au*, except, perhaps, *haam* from *halm*, which is often pronounced *hòòm*, pointing clearly to an older *haulm*.

Besides *r* and *l*, there are other consonants which tend to preserve the quality of short *a*, namely, ð, þ, *s* and *f*, although the *a* is generally lengthened: *faaðər*, *paaþ*, *graas*, *aask*, *laaf*, *craaft*. The refined Transition pronunciation *pæþ*, *æsk*, is, however, still to be heard.

Before leaving this subject of consonant influence, it is necessary to observe that the rules just stated do not always apply to dissyllables, but only to monosyllables. Thus we find *sælou, fælou*, not *sòlou, fòlou*, *nærou* not *narou*, and *gæðər* contrasting with *faaðər* and *raaðər*.

The influence of initial *w* is also very characteristic of Late Modern English. It not only preserves the old *u*, as in *wul*, *wulf*, but also regularly rounds short *a* into *ò*, *what*, *swan*, becoming *whòt*, *swòn*; also in dissyllables, such as *swòlóu*, *wòlóu*. The Transition forms *wəl*, *wəlf*, *whæt*, were probably artificial refinements, which were never accepted by the mass of the people.[1]

LATEST MODERN PERIOD.

We are now, at last, able to study the sounds of our language, not through the hazy medium of vague descriptions and comparisons, but by direct observation; we can throw away theory, and trust to facts. If our analysis of speech-sounds were perfectly accurate and exhaustive, and if our ears were trained to recognize with certainty every appreciable shade of pronunciation, the task would be easy enough. As it is, its difficulties are very great, and the observations I am about to make cannot therefore make any pretensions either to complete fullness or perfect accuracy. They are mere first attempts, and will require much revision.

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[1] Mr. H. Nicol has just called my attention to the fact (which I had overlooked) that the change does not take place when the *a* is followed by a back consonant: *wæg*, *wæx*, etc.

DIPHTHONGIZATION.

The most prominent feature of our present English is its tendency to diphthongization.

The diphthongic character of our *éé* and *óó* has been distinctly recognized by our leading phoneticians, especially Smart and Bell.

Mr. Bell analyses the two diphthongs as *éi*, *óu*, but I find, as regards my own pronunciation, that the second elements are not fully developed *i* and *u*. In pronouncing *óu* the tongue remains throughout in the mid-position, and the second element only differs from the first in being formed with greater closure of the lips, so that it is an intermediate sound between *oo* and *uu*. In *éi* the tongue seems to be raised to a position half way between *é* and *i* in forming the second element, not to the full high position of *i*.

This indistinctness of the second elements of our *éi* and *óu* explains the difficulty many have in recognizing their diphthongic character. Mr. Ellis, in particular, insists strongly on the monophthongic character of his own *ee*s and *oo*s. I hear his *ee* and *oo* as distinct diphthongs, not only in his English pronunciation, but also in his pronunciation of French, German, and Latin.

The observation of existing pronunciations has further revealed a very curious and hitherto unsuspected fact, namely that our *ii* and *uu* are no longer pure monophthongs in the mouths of the vast majority of speakers, whether educated or uneducated. They are consonantal diphthongs, *ii* terminating in the consonant *y*, *uu* in *w*=*iy*, *uw*. The distinction between *bit* and *biit* (written *beat*) depends not on the short vowel being wide and the long narrow, but on the former being a monophthong, the latter a diphthong. The narrowness of *ii* (or rather *iy*) is therefore unessential, and we find, ccordingly, that the first element of both *iy* and *uw* is generally made wide. These curious developments are probably the result of sympathetic imitation of *éi* and *óu;* and the tongue being already in the highest vowel position he only means of further contraction of the lingual passage eft was the formation of consonants.

The only long vowels left are *aa* and *òò*. Are these enuine monophthongs? I believe not, although their diphhongic character is certainly not nearly so strongly marked s in the case of the vowels already considered. Nevertheess, these two vowels always seem to end in a slight vocal murmur, which might be expressed thus—*aaə, òòə*. I find hat *aa* and *òò*, if prolonged ever so much, still have an brupt unfinished character if this vocal murmur is omitted. The difference between *lòò* (written *law*) and *lòòə* (*lore*) is that n the former word the final *ə* is strictly diphthongic and half evanescent, while the *ə* of the second word is so clearly pronounced as almost to amount to a separate syllable. The distinction between the words written *father* and *farther* is purely imaginary.

In popular speech these diphthongs undergo many modifications. The first elements of *éi* and *óu* often follow the general tendencies of short vowels, and are lowered to the low-front-narrow and low-back-wide-round positions respectively, giving *èi* and *òu*. This peculiar exaggeration of the two diphthongs, which is not uncommon even among the educated, is popularly supposed to be a substitution of *ai* for *éi*, and those who employ it are reproached with saying “high” instead of “hay.” I find, however, that those who say *hèi* for *héi* never confuse it with *hai*, which many of them pronounce very broadly, giving the *a* the low-back sound of the Scotch *man*.

The *ó* of *óu* is often, especially in affected pronunciation, moved forward to the mid-mixed-round position, and from there, by lowering and further shifting forwards, to the low-front-narrow-round position, so that *nóu* becomes *nœu*.

In like manner, the *u* of *uw*=*uu* is often weakened into the high-mixed-round (wide), which is nearly the German *ü*. So that *tuu* becomes almost *tyw* or *tüw*.

The two diphthongs corresponding to Middle E. *ii* and *uu* show strongly divergent tendencies in the present pronunciation. The first element of our *ai* is, I believe, the high-back-wide (which is also the commonest sound of the *ə* in *bət*), that of *au* the low-mixed-wide. In vulgar speech the distinction is still more marked, the *a* of *ai* being gradually lowered to the full low position, whilst the *a* of *au* is moved forward to the low-front-wide position, giving the familiar *æus* for *haus*, These exaggerations may be partly attributable to the desire to prevent confusion with the *ài* and *òu* arising from *éé* and *óó*.

The investigation of these peculiarities is not only of high scientific interest, but is also of great practical importance. We see that the imagined uniformity of "correct" pronunciation is entirely delusive—an error which only requires a little cultivation of the observing faculties to be completely dissipated.

It is also certain that the wretched way in which English people speak foreign languages—often in such a style as to be quite unintelligible to the natives—is mainly due to their persistently ignoring the phonetic peculiarities of their own language. When we once know that our supposed long vowels are all diphthongs, we are forced to acknowledge that the genuine *ii*s and *uu*s of foreign languages are really strange sounds, which require to be learnt with an effort, in the same way as we acquire French *u* or German *ch*. A case once came under my notice, in which the French word written *été* was confidently given forth as *èitèi*, on the strength of the grammar's assertion that the French *e aigu* had the sound of the English *ay* in *hay*. The result was, of course, to produce a word utterly unintelligible to a Frenchman.

SHORT VOWELS.

The short vowels do not seem to have changed much in the last few generations. The most noticeable fact is the loss of *æ* among the vulgar. It is modified by raising the tongue into the mid-front-wide, resulting in the familiar *ceb* for *cæb*. This anomalous raising of a short vowel is gradually spreading among the upper classes, and is already quite fixed in many colloquial phrases, such as *nóu thenc yuw*, in which *thænc* is hardly ever pronounced with *æ*, as it should be theoretically. To keep the old original *e* distinct from this new sound, the original *e* generally has the broad sound of the low-front-narrow—a pronunciation which is very marked among the lower orders in London. In the pronunciation of those who retain *æ*, original *e* often has the thinner mid-front-wide sound.

QUANTITY.

The laws of quantity in the Latest Modern English, which are of a very peculiar and interesting character, were, as far as I know, never stated till I gave a brief account of them in the paper on Danish Pronunciation, already mentioned.

The distinction between long and short vowel is preserved strictly only in dissyllables. In monosyllables short vowels before single consonants are very generally lengthened, especially among the uneducated. If the vowel is kept short, the consonant must be lengthened. The result is, that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long. If the vowel is naturally long, the consonant is shortened; if the vowel is originally short, the consonant is lengthened; or else the vowel is lengthened, and the consonant shortened. We thus obtain the forms *téil*, *tèll*, or *tèèl*, of which the last two are entirely optional. Although these quantitative distinctions are most clearly observable in the liquids, they apply quite as fully to the stops, as may be seen by any one who compares the English *hædd* and *hætt* with the Danish *hat,* in which the *t* is really short, giving a peculiarly abrupt effect to English ears.

Among the educated the form *tèll* is more frequent, but among the vulgar the lengthened *tèèl* is very common. These popular pronunciations are very interesting, as affording the only true undiphthongic long vowels which English now possesses: *fiil* and *fill* in popular speech are really *fiyl* and *fiil* with the same wide vowel, the only difference being that in the latter word it is perfectly homogeneous, while in the former it is consonantally diphthongized.

It also deserves notice that there are really three degrees of vowel quantity in English—short, medial, and long, the rule being that long vowels occur only before voice consonants or finally, while before breath consonants they become medial. Compare *luuz* with *luus, paaðz* with *paaþ.* This fact has been noticed by Dr. Murray, in his work on the Scotch Dialects (p. 98, note).

A similar distinction is observable in the quantity of some of the consonants themselves. Liquids and nasals are long before voice, short before breath consonants. Compare *billd* with *bilt, sinnz* with *sins.* This distinction of quantity has led Mr. Bell to assume that the *l* in *bilt* is voiceless, although he admits (Visible Speech, p. 67) that "there is a trace of vocality." That the *l* in the English *bilt* is *not* voiceless becomes at once evident on comparing it with the Icelandic *lt,* which is really *lht,* with a distinct hiss.

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

Apart from the laws of quantity already discussed, there is little to say on this subject. There are, however, words whose present forms afford instructive examples of the influence of *l.* These words are *childrən* and *milk,* in both of which the *i* has been gutturalized and labialized into *u* by the *l,* which in the second word has further developed into the diphthong *yu,* giving *chuldrən* and *myulc.* The diphthong in *myulc* is somewhat puzzling. It is not im-

ssible that the older forms were *chyyldrən* and *myylc*,
ich were then diphthongized into *yu*, which in the former
rd lost its *y*-consonant; or *chyldrən* may have developed
ect into *chuldrən*.

Notes on the Consonants.[1]

H.

That initial *h* in Old English had the same sound as it has
w, and not that of the German *ch* (*kh*), which it is gener-
y agreed to have had when medial and final, is clear from
frequent omission, even in the older documents of the
guage; for if initial *h* had been really *kh*, there would be
more reason for its omission than for that of *s* or any
er initial consonant.

During the Middle period the use of *h* to designate the
nd of *kh* was abandoned in favour of *gh*, whence the
sent spellings *night*, *laugh*, for the O.E. *niht*, *hleahhan*.
e spelling *ch*, as in German, also occurs, and it is, at first
ht, difficult to see why it was not universally adopted
tead of *gh*, which ought to express, not the breath sound
but rather the corresponding voice (as in German *sagen*).
e simplest explanation seems to be that the *ch* was dis-
ded in order to prevent confusion with the *ch* from *c* in
ld, *much*, etc.

HR, HL, HW, HN.

There can be no doubt that in the oldest pronunciation of
se combinations the *h* was pronounced separately, and that
a still earlier period the *h* was a real *ch*. In Modern
landic, however, which is the only Teutonic language that
l preserves all these sounds, the combinations have been
plified into *rh*, *lh*, *wh*, *nh*, which are nothing else but the
ath sounds corresponding to *r*, *l*, *w*, *n*, respectively.
dern English also preserves one of them in the simplified
m of *wh*.

These do not lay claim to any fullness of detail: they are merely intended to
e as a stop-gap till it is possible to treat the subject more at length.

The fact that *hr*, *hl*, and *hn* drop their *h* very early in the Transition period, seems to show that the change from the compound *h-r*, etc., to the simplified *rh*, must have already begun in the Old English period. That they did pass through the stage of simplification is clear from the spellings *rh*, etc., as in *rhof* (Ormulum), *lhord* (Ayenbite), and the *wh* still preserved.

The change from *hl* to *l* is not, therefore, to be explained as the result of apocope of the initial *h*, but rather as a levelling of the voiceless *lh* under the voiced *l*—a change which is at the present moment being carried out with the only remaining sound of this group, the *wh*.

Þ, F.

The main difficulty here is to determine the laws which govern the distribution of the breath þ and *f*, and the voice ð and *v*. The following table gives a general view of the relations of the living languages.

English	þing	ðæt	brəðər	óuþ
Icelandic	þing	þaað	brouðir	éið
Swedish	ting	det	bróódər	ééd
Danish	ting	dé	bróóðər	ééð
Dutch	ding	dat	brudər	ééd
German	ding	das	bruudər	aid (*for* ait)

The German *ait*, which is still written *eid*, really stands for *aid*, as final stops are always voiceless or whispered in German. The same is the case in Dutch, but original voiced stops preserve their vocality, if followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

The inferences suggested by this table are clear enough.

The English final þ for ð is evidently an exceptional change, which does not appear in any of the other languages. So also is the Icelandic þ in *þaað*. The majority, then, of the living Teutonic languages agree in showing ð medially and finally and þ initially, except in a small group of words in very common use, such as *the, then, thus, than, thou.*

The question now arises, what is the relation of the Dutch and German *d* in *ding* to the Scandinavian and English *ting, þing?* If the initial breath forms are the original ones, the voiced *ðat*, etc., must be later modifications; if the ð of *ðat* is the older, the *t* and *þ* of *ting* and *þing* must be the later developments—in short, there must have been a period in which þ did not exist at all.

If we go back to the Oldest English, we find no trace of any distinction between þ and ð. Many of the oldest MSS. write the ð in all cases—*ðing, ðæt, broðor, að*, while others write þ with equal exclusiveness. When we consider that ð is simply the usual *d* modified by a diacritic, and that the þ itself is, in all probability (as, I believe, was first suggested by Mr. Vigfússon), a D with the stem lengthened both ways, we are led to the unavoidable conclusion that the voice sound was the only one that existed in the Early Old English period. The fact that some of the very oldest remains of our language use the digraph *th* cannot outweigh the overwhelming evidence the other way. It was very natural to adopt the digraph *th*, which already existed in Latin as the representative of the sound *th*, as an approximate symbol of the voiced *dh*, but it is clear that it was considered an inaccurate representation of a voiced consonant, and was therefore abandoned in favour of þ or ð, which were at first employed indiscriminately.

Afterwards, when the breath sound developed itself, the two letters were utilized to express the difference, and þ, whose origin was of course forgotten, came to be regarded as the exclusive representative of the breath sound. Accordingly the later MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries always use both þ and ð *together*, often rather loosely, but always with the evident intention of writing þ initially, ð medially and finally. None of them seem to make any distinction between *þing* and *ðæt*, etc. It is, however, clear that these words must have had the same voice pronunciation as they have now.

We may therefore assume three stages in the history of the English *th*-sounds:

Early Old English ...	ðing......	ðæt......	brōðor......	āð
Late Old English ...	þing......	ðæt......	brōðor......	āð
Modern English	þing......	ðæt......	brəðər......	óuþ

The mystery of the pronunciation of *the, thou,* is now solved: these words are archaisms, preserved unchanged by the frequency of their occurrence.

These results apply equally to the *f*. There can be no doubt that the *f* in Early Old English was vocal like the Welsh *f*, as is shown by the Old German spelling *uolc*, etc. (still preserved, though the sound has been devocalized, in Modern German), and the Dutch pronunciation.

In the Transition period the voiced *f* was represented by the French *u*, as in Old German, and it is clear from such spellings as *vox* for *fox*, *uader* for *fader*, that the initial vocality of the Old English *f* (and consequently of the ð also) was still preserved, as it still is, in many of the Southern dialects.

Even in the present literary English we find initial vocality still preserved in the words *véin* (from *fana*), *væt* and *vixen*. As, however, these words are not of very frequent occurrence, it is not improbable that they were taken directly from one of the dialects.

There are a few cases of the retention of final vocality also, both of *f* and ð, in the present English. The words are *ov*, *twelv*, and *wið*, all three evidently preserved, like *ðæt*, etc., by their excessive frequency. The pronunciations *of* and *wiþ*, given by some of the Early Modern authorities, are made doubtful by their recognition of *ov* and *wið* as popular or vulgar pronunciations: they may therefore be purely artificial.

The vocal pronunciation of initial *s*, which is common in our dialects, and is shown for the fourteenth century by the Kentish *zay*, *zal*, etc., cannot be original. The sound of *z* is unknown in Scandinavia, and even in Germany the "soft" *s* is clearly the result of Low German influence, and it is unknown in the South German dialects.

It seems, therefore, that the vocalization of initial (and also medial) *s* in English is merely a case of levelling, caused by the analogy of the vocal ð and *v*.

G.

The use of *g* for the *y*-consonant (*j*) of the other languages is one of the knotty points of Old English phonetics. It is commonly assumed that the *g* of *gēr* (=Gothic *jēr*), *ge* (=*jus*), and the *ge* of *geoc* (=*juk*), *geā* (=*jā*), are merely orthographical expedients for indicating this *y*-consonant. But there seems no reason why the *i* of the other national orthographies should not have been adopted in England also. As a matter of fact, it is used in foreign names, as in *Iuþytte* (in the Chronicle), *Iuliana*, etc. And not only do such words as *geoc* alliterate with undoubted hard *g*s in the poetry, but we even find such pairs as *Juliana, god,* shewing clearly that even in foreign words *y*-consonant was liable to be changed into a sound which, if not identical with the *g* of *god*, was at least very like it.

The *ge* of *geoc* makes it very probable that the *g*=*y*-consonant was a palatal sound—in short, a palatal stop formed in the place of *y* (=Sanskrit ज). The conversion of an open into a stopped consonant is, of course, anomalous, but precisely the same change has taken place in the Romance languages.

The spelling *cg* for *gg*, as in *licgan*, *ecg*, is curious. We can hardly suppose that the combination is to be understood literally as *c* followed by *g*. Such a change would, at least, be entirely without precedent, and it seems most probable that the combination was meant to indicate a whispered instead of a voiced *gg*. The peculiarity, whatever it was, does not seem to have been carried into the Middle period, whose scribes always write *gg*.

Final *g* after long vowels or consonants often becomes *h* in Old English, which, to judge from the spelling *bogh*=*bōh*=*bōg*, was originally vocal (=*gh*), although it was soon devocalized. In the Transition period all medial and final *g*s became open (*gh*), as in German, Danish, and Icelandic. This *gh* afterwards became palatalized after front, and labialized after back vowels (*ghw*), and in many cases the palatal and labial *gh* became still further weakened into *i* and *u*, forming the second elements of diphthongs. After a consonant the labial *gh* was confused with *w* (from which it differs only in being slightly more guttural), *folgian* becoming *folwen*. When the *w* came at the end of a word, it was weakened into *u*, *folw* becoming *folu*, and *malw* (O.E. *mealwe*) becoming *malu*. The present *óu* in *folóu*, for which there is sixteenth century authority, as well as for *folu*, is anomalous. It is possible that the *óu* pronunciation may be artificial—the result of the spelling *follow*.

Even initial *g* is often weakened before front vowels, so often, indeed, that the Old English form of the *g* (ʒ) came to be used exclusively to represent this weak sound, while the French form (nearly our present *g*) was reserved for the original stopped *g*. The first change was, no doubt into *gh*, *gifan* becoming *ghiven*, as in the Dutch *ghéévən*, which soon became palatalized, till at last it became simple *y*-consonant, as is clearly proved by such spellings as *iæf*=O.E. *geaf* (Peterborough Chronicle), *yelt*=*gylt* (Ayenbite), etc.

The *g* or *ge*, which represents original *y*-consonant in Old English, always undergoes this weakening, *geoc*, *gē*, becoming *yòòc*, *yéé*. Even when initial *ge* is merely the result of the diphthongization of *a* into *ea*, it is often weakened into *ya*, as in *yard*=*geard*=*gard*.

The result of all these changes was, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century *gh* was entirely lost, being either weakened into a vowel (*i* or *u*), or converted into the corresponding breath sound *kh*, but only finally, as in *dóóuh* (O.E. *dāg*), *enuuh* (*genōg*). In most cases final *gh* (when not vowelized) was dropped entirely, as in *fóóu* (*fāg*), *lóóu* (*lāg*), *fii* (*feoh*).[1]

In the present English *kh*—whether answering to O.E. *g* or *h*—has been entirely lost. It appears from Mr. Ellis's investigations that the full *kh* first became weakened to a mere aspiration, which was soon dropped. In such words as *niht* the *i* was lengthened, *niht* becoming *niit*, whence our present *nait*. Final *kh* preceded by a rounded vowel as in *lauh*, *enuuh*, was itself naturally rounded into *khw*, like the *kh* in the German *auch*; hence the present *laaf*, *enəf*—*laukh*, *lakhw*, *lawh*, *laf*. For fuller details the reader must be referred to Mr. Ellis's great work.

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[1] The *u* in *dóóuh*, *fóóu(h)*, etc., was probably a mere secondary formation, generated by the *ghw*, the stages being *oogh*, *ooghw*, *ooughw*, and then *oouh* or simply *oou*.

CH, J.

The change of *c* into *ch* before and after front vowels, as in *chiild*, *tèèch*, from *cild*, *tǣcan*, offers considerable difficulties, on account of the many intermediate stages there must have been between the back stop *c* and the present *tsh*-sound. There can be no doubt that the first change was to move *c* to the front-stop position, but, although the further change to the point formation is simple enough, it is not easy to explain the intrusion of the *sh*: we would expect *ciild* to change simply into *tiild*, just as *gemaca* becomes *maat*. I believe that the change from the intermediate front-stop to *tsh* is a purely imitative one. If the front-stop is pronounced forcibly—even with a degree of force stopping far short of actual aspiration—the escape of breath after the contact is removed naturally generates a slight hiss of *yh* (as in *hue*), which is very like *sh* in sound—hence the substitution of the easier *tsh*.

The same remarks apply also to the *dzh*-sound in *wej*, *ej*, *rij*, etc., from *wecg*, *ecg*, *hrycg*.

It is instructive to observe the analogous changes in the Scandinavian languages. In Icelandic *k* and *g* before front vowels are shifted forward a little, without, however, losing their back character, almost as in the old-fashioned London pronunciation of *kaind*, *skai*, etc. In Swedish *k* before front vowels has a sound which is generally identified with the English *ch*. If, however, my limited observations are correct, the real sound is the front stop followed by the corresponding open breath (*yh*). The sound is certainly not the English *ch*, which the Swedes consider an unfamiliar sound. In

Norwegian the stopped element is dropped entirely, and nothing remains but a forward *yh*, so that *kenna* is pronounced *yhenna*. Both in Norwegian and Swedish *g* before front vowels has the simple sound of the consonant *y*.

SH.

The change of Old English *sc* into *sh* is not exactly parallel with that of *c* into *ch*, as it takes place after back as well as front vowels—not only in such words as *ship* (=*scip*), but also in *shun* (*āscunian*), etc. It is therefore possible that *sc* may have passed through the stage of *skh*, as in Dutch, a change which seems to be the result of the influence of the *s*, the *kh* instead of *k* being, like *s*, a sibilant unstopped consonant. The Old English spellings *sceacan*, *sceoc*, etc., for *scacan*, *scōc*, however, seem to point rather to a palatalization of the *c* at an early period. Whatever the development may have been, it is certain that the sound soon became simple, for we find it often written *ss* in the Early Middle period.

In Swedish the sound of *sh* is fully developed, but only before front vowels. In Norwegian *sk* before front vowels changes its *k* into *yh* (voiceless *y*-consonant), which, as we have already seen, is the regular change, giving the combination *s-yh*, which is generally confounded with simple *sh* by foreigners. These facts tend strongly to confirm the view that the change of *sk* into *sh* in English also is due to palatalization of the *k*, although we cannot determine with certainty what the intermediate stages were.

WORD LISTS.

The following lists are intended to include the majority of the words of Teutonic—that is to say English or Scandinavian—origin still in common use, with the corresponding Old and Middle forms. The first column gives the Old English forms; the second the Middle English (but without the final *e*, p. 56) as deduced from the Old English forms and the present traditional spelling, which is given in the third column; the fourth, lastly, gives the present sounds. I have, of course, carefully compared the valuable pronouncing vocabulary of Early Modern English given by Mr. Ellis in his Third Part, especially in all cases of irregular change or anomalous spelling. These exceptions will be considered hereafter.

The words are arranged primarily according to their vowels in the following order:—a (æ, ea, ei), ā, i, ī, y, ȳ, é (eo), è, ē, ǣ=éé, ǣ=èè, eā, eō, u, ū, o, ō. Then according to the consonant that follows the vowel in this order: h, r, l, ð, s, w, f, ng, n, m, g, c, d, t, b, p; and lastly according to the initial consonant in the same order. The principle I have followed is to begin with the vowels, as being the most independent elements of speech, and to put the stops at the extreme end as being most opposed to the vowels. The semivowels or open consonants naturally come after the vowels, and the nasals next to the stops. As regards position, back consonants come first, then front, then point, and then lip. Voice consonants, of course, come before breath. It will easily be seen that the same general principles have been followed in the arrangement of the vowels. The order of position is back, mixed, front; high comes before mid, and mid before low, and round last of all.

To facilitate reference, I have often given the same word under as many different heads as possible, especially in cases of irregular development.

Old English forms which do not actually occur, but are postulated by later ones, are marked with an asterisk.

The Middle English forms in parentheses are those which, although not deducible from the spelling, are supported by other evidence.

Norse words are denoted by N., and the conventional Icelandic spellings are occasionally added in parentheses.

Many of the inorganic preterites (such as *bore*=*bær*) have been included in the present lists: they are all marked with a dagger.

a, æ, ea, ò.

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
hleahhan	lauh		*laugh*	laaf
geseah	sau		*saw*	sòò
eahta	eiht (ai)		*eight*	éit
hleahtor	lauhter	4	*laughter*	laaftər
sleaht	slauhter		*slaughter*	slòòtər
feaht	fauht		*fought*	fòòt
tǣhte	tauht		*taught*	tòòt
aron	ar	8	*are*	aar
hara	haar		*hare*	hèər
scearu	shaar		*share*	shèər
starian	staar		*stare*	stèər
sparian	spaar	12	*spare*	spèər
wær	waar		*ware (wary)*	wèər
faran	faar		*fare*	fèər
nearu (nearw-)	naru		*narrow*	næróu
caru	caar	16	*care*	cèər
dear	daar		*dare*	dèər
tær	† tòòr		*tore*	tòər
bær (*adj.*)	baar		*bare*	bèər
bær (*pret.*)	baar	20	*bare*	bèər
	† bòòr		*bore*	bòər
ears	ars		*arse*	aəs
ar(e)we	aru		*arrow*	æróu
spearwa	sparu	24	*sparrow*	spæróu
gearwa	gèèr		*gear*	giər
hærfest	harvest		*harvest*	haəvest
(ge)earnian	èèrn		*earn*	əən
wearnian	warn	28	*warn*	wòən
fearn	fern		*fern*	fəən
gearn	yarn		*yarn*	yaən
earm	arm		*arm*	aəm
hearm	harm	32	*harm*	haəm
wearm	warm		*warm*	wòəm
swearm	swarm		*swarm*	swòəm
earc	arc		*ark*	aəc
ærce-	arch-	36	*arch(bishop)*	aəch-

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
ce	larc		*lark*	laəc
	starc		*stark*	staəc
a	sparc		*spark*	spaəc
	marc	40	*mark*	maəc
N. (börkr)	barc		*bark*	baəc
uc	parc		*park*	paəc
	hard		*hard*	haəd
l	ward	44	*ward*	wòəd
	yard		*yard*	yaəd
	bèèrd		*beard*	biəd
eart	art		*art*	aət
t	swart	48	*swarthy*	swòəþi
	cart		*cart*	caət
	tart		*tart*	taət
e	harp		*harp*	haəp
p	sharp	52	*sharp*	shaəp
under ld)				
	aal		*ale*	éil
	al		*all*	òòl
	hal		*hall*	hòòl
(sealw-)	salu	56	*sallow*	sælou
	smal		*small*	smòòl
	shal		*shall*	shæl
	scaal, shaal		*scale, shale*	scéil, shéil
	stal	60	*stall*	stòòl
	wal		*wall*	wòòl
	whaal		*whale*	whéil
(fealw-)	falu		*fallow*	fælóu
n	fal	64	*fall*	fòòl
gale	nihtingaal		*nightingale*	naitinggéil
e	gal		*gall*	gòòl
(cealw-)	calu		*callow*	cælóu
an (N. ?)	cal	68	*call*	còòl
	daal		*dale*	déil
	taal		*tale*	téil
	baal		*bale*	béil
lwe	swalu	72	*swallow*	swolóu
wian	walu		*wallow*	wolóu
we	malu		*mallow*	mælóu

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
ælf	elf		*elf*	elf
healf	half	76	*half*	haaf
sealfian	salv		*salve*	sælv
cealf	calf		*calf*	caaf
ælmesse	alms		*alms*	aamz
healm	halm	80	*halm*	hòòm
sealm	salm		*psalm*	saam
hālgian	halu		*hallow*	hælóu
gealga	galuz		*gallows*	gælóuz
tælg	talu	84	*tallow*	tælóu
stealcian	stalc		*stalk*	stòòc
wealcan	walc		*walk*	wòòc
bealca	balc		*balk*	bòòc
bealcettan	belch	88	*belch*	belch
alor	alder		*alder*	òòldər
eald	òòld		*old*	óuld
ealdormann	alderman		*alderman*	òòldəmən
healdan	hòòld	92	*hold*	hóuld
sealde	sòòld		*sold*	sóuld
fealdan	fòòld		*fold*	fóuld
ceald	còòld		*cold*	cóuld
tealde	tòòld	96	*told*	tóuld
beald	bòòld		*bold*	bóuld
healt	halt		*halt*	holt
sealt	salt		*salt*	solt
mealt	malt	100	*malt*	molt
hæ(f)ð	haþ		*hath*	hæþ
hraðor	raðer		*rather*	raaðər
hwæðer	wheðer		*whether*	wheðər
bæð	baþ	104	*bath*	baaþ
baðian	baað		*bathe*	béið
pæð	paþ		*path*	paaþ
fæðm	faðom		*fathom*	fæðəm
ea(l)swā	az	108	*as*	æz
assa	as		*ass*	aas
*hæ(f)s	haz		*has*	hæz

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	les		*less*	les
s ðe	lest	112	*lest*	lest
	waz		*was*	woz
	nes		*ness*	nes
	gras		*grass*	graas
	glas	116	*glass*	glaas
	bras		*brass*	braas
	ash		*ash*	æsh
	asc		*ask*	aasc
	ashez	120	*ashes*	æshez
.	rash		*rash*	ræsh
ı	wash		*wash*	wosh
	flasc		*flask*	flaasc
ic N.	basc	124	*bask*	baasc
t	last		*last*	laast
uperl.)	lèèst		*least*	liist
	last		*last*	laast
	fast	128	*fast*	faast
	mast		*mast*	maast
	gest		*guest*	gest
T.	cast		*cast*	caast
	castl	132	*castle*	caasl
	blast		*blast*	blaast
	aspen		*aspen*	æspen
	aul		*awl*	òòl
	clau	136	*claw*	clòò
mper.)	hav		*have*	hæv
	behaav		*behave*	behéiv
	haaven		*haven*	héivən
	hauc	140	*hawk*	hòòc
	staf		*staff*	staaf
	staavz		*staves*	stéivz
	shaav		*shave*	shéiv
	naav	144	*nave*	néiv
	gaav		*gave*	géiv
}	graav		*grave*	gréiv
	chaf		*chaff*	chaaf
	chaafer	148	(*cock*)*chafer*	chéifər

; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
crafian	craav		*crave*	créiv
clæfer	clòòver		*clover*	clóuvər
hæfð (*under* ð)				
hræfn	raaven		*raven*	réivən
hæfde hlǣfdige } (*under* d)				
æfter	after	152	*after*	aaftər
sceaft	shaft		*shaft*	shaaft
cræft	craft		*craft*	craaft
angel (*hook*)	angl		*to angle*	ængl
hangan	hang	156	*hang*	hæng
hrang	rang		*rang*	ræng
lang	long		*long*	long
þrang	þrong		*throng*	þrong
þwang	þong	160	*thong*	þong
sang (*pret.*)	sang		*sang*	sæng
sang (*subst.*)	song		*song*	song
strang	strong		*strong*	strong
sprang	sprang	164	*sprang*	spræng
wrang (*pret.*)	wrang		*wrang*	ræng
wrạng (*adj.*)	wrong		*wrong*	rong
fang	fang	167	*fang*	fæng
mangere	? monger (u)		*monger*	məngər
òn gemang	? among (u)		*among*	əməng
gang	gang		*gang*	gæng
tange	tongs		*tongs*	tongz
banga N.	bang	172	*bang*	bæng
ancleow	ancl		*ankle*	æncl
ranc	ranc		*rank*	rænc
hlanc	lanc		*lank*	lænc
þancian	þanc	176	*thank*	þænc
sanc	sanc		*sank*	sænc
scranc	shranc		*shrank*	shrænc
stanc	stanc		*stank*	stænc
dranc	dranc	180	*drank*	drænc
ǣnig	aani (a)		*any*	eni
hanep	hemp		*hemp*	hemp

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

LD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	ran		*ran*	ræn
a N.	ransac	184	*ransack*	rænsæc
	laan		*lane*	léin
	₰an		*than*	₰æn
	₰en		*then*	₰en
	swan	188	*swan*	swon
ı	span		*span*	spæn
pret.)	†wun		*won*	wən
adj.)	wan		*wan*	won
	waan	192	*wane*	wéin
e	when		*when*	when
	vaan		*vane*	véin
	man		*man*	mæn
	maan	196	*mane*	méin
	maani (a)		*many*	meni
	began		*began*	begæn
	ganet		*ganet*	gænet
	can	200	*can*	cæn
	craan		*crane*	créin
	baan		*bane*	béin
	ban		*ban*	bæn
	pan	204	*pan*	pæn
rarian	answer		*answer*	aansər
	anvil		*anvil*	ænvil
	and		*and*	ænd
	hand	208	*hand*	hænd
	land		*land*	lænd
	sand		*sand*	sænd
	stand		*stand*	stænd
	strand	212	*strand*	strænd
. (vöndr)	wand		*wand*	wond
pret.)	†wuund		*wound*	waund
ın	wander		*wander*	wondər
	candl	216	*candle*	cændl
ret.)	†buund		*bound*	baund
bst.)	band		*band*	bænd
	bond		*bond*	bond
	brand	220	*brand*	brænd
N.	want		*want*	wont
ı	plant		*plant*	plaant

r, hr, l, hl; ₰, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
ic eam	am		*am*	æm
ǣmette	emet	224	*emmet, ant*	emet, aant
hamor	hamer		*hammer*	hæmər
ramm	ram		*ram*	ræm
lama (*adj.*)	laam		*lame*	léim
same	saam	228	*same*	séim
swamm	swam		*swam*	swæm
scamu	shaam		*shame*	shéim
fram	from		*from*	from
nama	naam	232	*name*	néim
gamen	gaam		*game*	géim
crammian	cram		*cram*	cræm
cwam	caam		*came*	céim
damm	dam	236	*dam*	dæm
tama (*adj.*)	taam		*tame*	téim
lamb	lamb		*lamb*	læm
wamb	wóómb		*womb*	wuum
camb	còòmb	240	*comb*	cóum
damp (*subst.*) N.	damp		*damp* (adj.)	dæmp
haga	hau		*haw*	hòò
læg	lai		*lay*	léi
lagu	lau	244	*law*	lòò
sage sagu	sau		*saw*	sòò
slagan	slai		*slay*	sléi
wagian	wag		*wag*	wæg
fleagan	flai	248	*flay*	fléi
mæg	mai		*may*	méi
maga	mau		*maw*	mòò
gnagan	gnau		*gnaw*	nòò
dæg	dai	252	*day*	déi
*dagenian	daun		*dawn*	dŏòn
dragan	drag		*drag*	dræg
	drau		*draw*	dròò
fæg(e)r	fair	256	*fair*	fèər
hæg(e)l	hail		*hail*	héil
snæg(e)l	snail		*snail*	snéil
næg(e)l	nail		*nail*	néil
tæg(e)l	tail	260	*tail*	téil

a(æ ea ei), ì, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

LD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	eiðer		*either*	iiðər aiðər
n	slain		*slain*	sléin
	fain		*fain*	féin
n	main	264	*main*	méin
e)n	again		*again*	əgéin əgèn
n	brain		*brain*	bréin
	said		*said*	sed
	maid	268	*maid*	méid
	aacr		*acre*	éicər
	aacorn		*acorn*	éicòən
	raac		*rake*	réic
	þach	272	*thatch*	þæch
a N.	ransac		*ransack*	rænsæc
	saac		*sake*	séic
	snaac		*snake*	snéic
	shaac	276	*shake*	shéic
	staac		*stake*	stéic
	spaac		*spake*	spéic
	†spòòc		*spoke*	spóuc
	waac	280	*wake*	wéic
	wrec		*wreck*	rec
	naaced		*naked*	néiced
	maac		*make*	méic
	caac	284	*cake*	céic
ı	cwaac		*cwake*	cwéic
	taac		*take*	téic
	bac		*back*	bæc
	baac	288	*bake*	béic
	braac		*brake*	bréic
	†bròòc		*broke*	bróuc
	blac		*black*	blæc
	ax	292	*axe*	æx
(*under* sc)				
	wax		*wax*	wæx
	flax		*flax*	flæx

r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
ædese	adis		*addice, adze*	ædz
hæ(f)de	had	296	*had*	hæd
hladan	laad		*lade*	léid
	lòòd		*load*	lóud
hlæder	lader		*ladder*	lædər
hlǣ(f)dige	laadi	300	*lady*	léidi
sæd	sad		*sad*	sæd
sadol	sadl		*saddle*	sædl
sceadu	shadu		*shadow, shade*	shædóu, shéid
wadan	waad	304	*wade*	wéid
fæder	faðer		*father*	faaðər
gema(c)od	maad		*made*	méid
gegadorian	gaðer		*gather*	gæðər
tōgædere	togeðer	308	*together*	tugeðər
glæd	glad		*glad*	glæd
cradol	craadl		*cradle*	créidl
*geclǣðed	clad		*clad*	clæd
træd	†trod	312	*trod*	†trod
nædre	ader		*adder*	ædər
blæd	blaad		*blade*	bléid
blædre	blader		*bladder*	blædər

æt *(prep.)*	at	316	*at*	æt
æt *(pret.)*	aat		*ate*	éit, et
hatian	haat		*hate*	héit
hætt	hat		*hat*	hæt
læt (lata)	laat	320	*late*	léit
þæt	ðat		*that*	ðæt
sæt	sat		*sat*	sæt
sæterdæg	saturdai		*saturday*	sætədi
wæter	water	324	*water*	wòòtər
hwæt	what		*what*	whot
spǣtte *(pret.)*	spat		*spat*	spæt
fæt	vat		*vat*	væt
fǣtt *(adj.)*	fat	328	*fat*	fæt
flat N.	flat		*flat*	flæt
geat *(subst.)*	gaat		*gate*	géit
begeat *(pret.)*	got		*got*	got
gnætt	gnat	332	*gnat*	næt
catt	cat		*cat*	cæt

crabba	crab		*crab*	cræb

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

D.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	aap		*ape*	éip
	hapi	336	*happy*	hæpi
	shaap		*shape*	shéip
	apl		*apple*	æpl
	sap		*sap*	sæp
	nap	340	*nap*	næp
	gaap		*gape*	géip
	cnaav		*knave*	néiv
)	pebl		*pebble*	pebl

ei (ey). (*All Norse.*)

	ai	344	*aye*	ai, éi
	ðai (ei)		*they*	ðéi
	nai		*nay*	néi
	ðeir		*their*	ðèər
	hail	348	*hail!*	héil
	raiz		*raise*	réiz
	rain(déér)		*rein(deer)*	réin(diər)
	swain		*swain*	swéin
	stèèc	352	*steak*	stéic
	wèèc		*weak*	wiic
	bait		*bait*	béit
	dii		*die*	dai

ā.

	ròò	356	*roe*	róu
	lòò		*lo!*	lóu, lòò
	slòò		*sloe*	slóu
	sòò		*so*	sóu
	wòò	360	*woe*	wóu
	hwóó		*who*	huu

, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
frā N.	fròò		(*to and*) *fro*	fróu
nā	nòò		*no*	nóu
(ic) gā	gòò	364	*go*	góu
dā	dòò		*doe*	dóu
tā	tòò		*toe*	tóu
twā	twóó		*two*	tuu
āhte	òòuht	368	*ought*	òòt
(n)āht	(n)auht		(*n*)*aught*	(n)òòt
	not		*not*	not
hāl	hòòl hwòòl		*whole*	hóul
	haal	372	*hale*	heil
hālgian (*under* a)				
māl	mòòl		*mole*	móul
gedāl	dòòl		*dole*	dóul
ār	òòr		*oar*	òər
hār	hòòr	376	*hoar*	hòər
rārian	ròòr		*roar*	ròər
lār	lòòr		*lore*	lòər
sār	sòòr		*sore*	sòər
māre	mòòr	380	*more*	mòər
gāre	gòòr		*gore*	gòər
geāra	yòòr		*yore*	yòər
bār	bòòr		*boar*	bòər
hlā(f)ord	lord	384	*lord*	lòəd
āð	òòþ		*oath*	óuþ
wrāð	wraþ		*wrath*	raaþ
	wròòþ		*wroth*	rò(ò)þ
lāðian	lòòð	388	*loathe*	lóuð
nā(n)þing	noþing		*nothing*	nəþing
clāð	cloþ		*cloth*	clò(ò)þ
clāðian	clòòð		*clothe*	clóuð
bāðir, N.	bòòþ	392	*both*	bóuþ
hās	hòòrs		*hoarse*	hòòəs
ārās	aròòz		*arose*	əróuz
þās	ðòòz		*those*	ðóuz
*hwās	whòòz	396	*whose*	huuz

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ā (*continued*).

LD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
under a)				
	mòòst		*most*	móust
	gòòst		*ghost*	góust
(*under* a)				
	þau	400	*thaw*	þòò
	þròòu		*throw*	þróu
	sòòu		*sow*	sóu
	snòòu		*snow*	snóu
	mòòu	404	*mow*	móu
	cròòu		*crow*	cróu
	cnòòu		*know*	nóu
	blòòu		*blow*	blóu
	sòòul	408	*soul*	sóul
=āhwæðer)	or		*or*	òər
)n	sòòun		*sown*	sóun
‘e)n	þròòun		*thrown*	þróun
‘e)n	cnòòun	412	*known*	nóun
	lòòf		*loaf*	lóuf
(*under* r)	dròòv		*drove*	dróuv
	òòn, an, a		*one, an, a*	wən, ən, ə
	òònli	416	*only*	óunli
	lòòn		*loan*	lóun
	nòòn		*none*	nən
	shòòn		*shone*	shon
	stòòn	420	*stone*	stóun
ı	mòòn		*moan*	móun
part.)	gòòn		*gone*	gon
	gròòn		*groan*	gróun
	bòòn	424	*bone*	bóun
	hòòm		*home*	hóum
	lòòm		*loam*	lóum
	whóóm		*whom*	huum
	fòòm	428	*foam*	fóum
	clami		*clammy*	clæmi

r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
āgan	òòu		*owe*	óu
lāg	lòòu		*low*	lóu
fāg	fòò	432	*foe*	fóu
dāg	dòòuh		*dough*	dóu
āg(e)n	òòun		*own*	óun
āc	òòc		*oak*	óuc
(wed)lāc	(wed)loc	436	(*wed*)*lock*	(wed)loc
strācian	stròòc		*stroke*	stróuc
spāca	spòòc		*spoke*	spóuc
tācen	tòòcen		*token*	tóucən
-hād	-hóód	440	(*man*)*hood*	-hud
rād	ròòd		*rode, road*	róud
lād	lòòd(stòòn)		*load*(*stone*)	lóud(stóun)
wād	wòòd		*woad*	wóud
gād	gòòd	444	*goad*	góud
tāde	tòòd		*toad*	tóud
ābād	abòòd		*abode*	əbóud
brād	bròòd		*broad*	bròòd
? ādl				
āte	òòts	448	*oats*	óuts
hāt	hot		*hot*	hot
swāt (*under* ǣ = èè)				
wāt	wot		*wot*	wot
wrāt	wròòt		*wrote*	róut
gāt	gòòt	452	*goat*	góut
bāt	bòòt		*boat*	bóut
rāp	ròòp		*rope*	róup
sāpe	sòòp		*soap*	sóup
swāpan (*under* ǣ = éé)				
grāpian	gròòp	456	*grope*	gróup
pāpa	pòòp		*pope*	póup

ī.

riht	riht	*right*	rait
gelīhtan	liht	(*a*)*light*	lait

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

i (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	siht	460	*sight*	sait
	wiht		*wight*	wait
	whit		*whit*	whit
	niht		*night*	nait
	miht	464	*might*	mait
	cniht		*knight*	nait
	briht		*bright*	brait
	pliht		*plight*	plait
	hir (e)	468	*her*	həər
	shiir		*shire*	shiiər, shaiər
	stirup		*stirrup*	stirəp
under y)				
	mirþ		*mirth*	məəþ
under y)				
	herd	472	(*shep*)*herd*	(shep)əd
(=þridda)	þird		*third*	þəəd
=bridd)	bird		*bird*	bəəd
	il		*ill*	il
;	shiling	476	*shilling*	shiling
	scil		*skill*	scil
	stil		*still*	stil
	spil		*spill*	spil
	wil	480	*will*	wil
	wilu		*willow*	wilóu
	yel		*yell*	yel
prep.)	til		*till*	til
	bil	484	*bill*	bil
)	film		*film*	film
	silc		*silk*	silc
under c)				
under c)				
	milc		*milk*	milc
	shiild	488	*shield*	shiild
	wiild		*wild*	waild
	miild		*mild*	maild

; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

i (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
gild	gild		*guild*	gild
gildan	yiild	492	*yield*	yiild
cild	chiild		*child*	chaild
cildru	children		*children*	children
hilt	hilt		*hilt*	hilt
smið	smiþ	496	*smith*	smiþ
wið	wið		*with*	wið
fiðele	fidl		*fiddle*	fidl
niðer	neðer		*nether*	neðər
piða	piþ	500	*pith*	piþ
is	iz		*is*	iz
his	hiz		*his*	hiz
þis	ðis		*this*	ðis
*þise	ðèèz	504	*these*	ðiiz
mis-	mis-		*mis*(*take*)	mis-
missan	mis		*miss*	mis
gise	yis (e)		*yes*	yes
bliss	blis	508	*bliss*	blis
fisc	fish		*fish*	fish
disc	dish		*dish*	dish
biscop	bishop		*bishop*	bishəp
wīsdōm	wizdom	512	*wisdom*	wizdəm
list	list		*list*	list
þistel	þistl		*thistle*	þisl
mist	mist		*mist*	mist
gist	yèèst	516	*yeast*	yiist
misteltā	mistltòò		*mistletoe*	misltóu
Crist	Criist		*Christ*	Craist
cristenian	cristen		*christen*	crisn
gist	yèèst	520	*yeast*	yiist
gistrandæg	yisterdai (e)		*yesterday*	yestədi
hwistlian	whistl		*whistle*	whisl
wlisp (*adj.*)	lisp		*to lisp*	lisp
hwisprian	whisper	524	*whisper*	whispər
siwian	seu		*sew*	sóu
niwe	neu		*new*	nyuu

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

i (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	cleu		*clew*	cluu
dæg	teuzdai	528	*Tuesday*	tyuuzdi
	iivi		*ivy*	aivi
	liv		*live*	liv
	liver		*liver*	livər
	siv	532	*sieve*	siv
	stif		*stiff*	stif
	wiivil		*weevil*	wiivəl
	if		*if*	if
	giv	536	*give*	giv
	clif		*cliff*	clif
	driven		*driven*	drivən
	sift		*sift*	sift
	swift	540	*swift*	swift
	shrift		*shrift*	shrift
	fifti		*fifty*	fifti
	gift		*gift*	gift
	ring	544	*ring*	ring
	-ling		*(dar)ling*	-ling
	þing		*thing*	þing
ı	sing		*sing*	sing
an	swing	548	*swing*	swing
n	sting		*sting*	sting
an	spring		*spring*	spring
N. (vængr)	wing		*wing*	wing
	finger	552	*finger*	fingər
n	crinj		*cringe*	crinj
n	cling		*cling*	cling
n	bring		*bring*	bring
ı	sinc	556	*sink*	sinc
n	slinc		*slink*	slinc
an	shrinc		*shrink*	shrinc
n	stinc		*stink*	stinc
n	winc	560	*wink*	winc
n	drinc		*drink*	drinc
ian	twincl		*twinkle*	twincl
	in		*in(n)*	in
ı	run	564	*run*	rən
	linen		*linen*	linen

ı; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

i (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
scin(bān)	shin		*shin*	shin
scinn N.	scin		*skin*	scin
spinnan	spin	568	*spin*	spin
gewinnan	win		*win*	win
windwian	winu		*winnow*	winóu
finn	fin		*fin*	fin
beginnan	begin	572	*begin*	begin
cinne	chin		*chin*	chin
tinn	tin		*tin*	tin
getwinnan	twinz		*twins*	twinz
binn	bin	576	*bin*	bin
hinde	hiind		*hind*	haind
hindema	hindermòòst		*hindermost*	hindermóust
rind	riind		*rind*	raind
lind	linden	580	*linden*	lindən
sinder	sinder		*cinder*	sindər
spindel	spindl		*spindle*	spindl
wind	wind		*wind*	wind
windan	wiind	584	*wind*	waind
windauga N.	windu		*window*	windóu
windwian (*under* n)				
findan	fiind		*find*	faind
grindan	griind		*grind*	graind
bindan	biind	588	*bind*	baind
blind	bliind		*blind*	blaind
stintan	stint		*stint*	stint
winter	winter		*winter*	wintər
flint	flint	592	*flint*	flint
minte	mint		*mint*	mint
him	him		*him*	him
rima	rim		*rim*	rim
lim	limb	596	*limb*	lim
swimman	swim		*swim*	swim
wīfman	wuman		*woman*	wumən
wīfmen	wumen (i)		*women*	wimen
grimm	grim	600	*grim*	grim
dimm	dim		*dim*	dim
climban	cliimb		*climb*	claim
timber	timber		*timber*	timbər

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

i (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
ıd	iiland	604	*island*	ailənd
ı	hii		*hie*	hai
ı	lii		*lie*	lai
æg	friidai		*Friday*	fraidi
	niin	608	*nine*	nain
	tiil		*tile*	tail
	twig		*twig*	twig
	ich, ii		*I*	ai
	-li	612	*(like)ly*	-li
n	lic		*lick*	lic
	þic		*thick*	þic
n	stic		*stick*	stic
cen	stricen	616	*stricken*	stricən
)c	such		*such*	səch
	wiic		*week*	wiic
	wich		*witch*	wich
)c	which	620	*which*	which
	ficl		*fickle*	ficl
	flich		*flitch*	flich
	much		*much*	məch
	(iis)icl	624	*(ic)icle*	(ais)icl
	cwic		*quick*	cwic
	bich		*bitch*	bich
	pich		*pitch*	pich
,n	pric	628	*prick*	pric
	six		*six*	six
x	betwixt		*betwixt*	betwixt
	hiðer		*hither*	hiðər
	riden	632	*ridden*	ridn
	lid		*lid*	lid
	ðiðer		*thither*	ðiðər
a (*under* r)				
we	widu		*widow*	widóu
er	whiðer	636	*whither*	whiðər
.	biden		*bidden*	bidn
(*under* r)				
ð	widþ		*width*	width
ldes	midst		*midst*	midst
	it	640	*it*	it
N.	hit		*hit*	hit

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

i (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
sittan	sit		*sit*	sit
sliten slītan	slit		*slit*	slit
smiten	smiten	644	*smitten*	smitn
gewitt witan	wit		*wit*	wit
writen	writen		*written*	ritn
git	yit (e)		*yet*	yet
begitan	get	648	*get*	get
edwītan	twit		*twit*	twit
bite	bit		*bit*	bit
biter	biter		*bitter*	bitər
ribb	rib	652	*rib*	rib
sibb	(go)sip		(*gos*)*sip*	(go)sip
cribb	crib		*crib*	crib
lippa	lip		*lip*	lip
slīpan	slip	656	*slip*	slip
scip	ship		*ship*	ship
-scipe	-ship		(*wor*)*ship*	-ship
gripe	grip		*grip*	grip
clippa N.	clip	660	*clip*	clip

ī.

bī	bii		*by*	bai
gelīhtan (*under* i)				
īrland	iirland		*Ireland*	aiələnd
īren	iiron		*iron*	aiən
scīr	(shiir)	664	*sheer*	shiər
wīr	wiir		*wire*	waiər
smīla N.	smiil		*smile*	smail
wīle	wiil		*wile*	wail
hwīl	whiil	668	*while*	whail
fīl	fiil		*file*	fail
mīl	miil		*mile*	mail
līðe	liið		*lithe*	laið
strīð	striif	672	*strife*	straif

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

Ī (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
an	wriið		*writhe*	raið
ı	bliið		*blithe*	blaið
	iis		*ice*	ais
n	ariiz	676	*arise*	əraiz
	wiiz		*wise*	waiz
5m	wizdom		*wisdom*	wizdəm
ıard	steuard		*steward*	styuuəd
an	speu	680	*spew*	spyuu
	liif		*life*	laif
n	þriiv		*thrive*	þraiv
ın	shriiv		*shrive*	shraiv
	stif	684	*stiff*	stif
	wiif		*wife*	waif
	fiiv		*five*	faiv
	cniif		*knife*	naif
n	driiv	688	*drive*	draiv
ıan (*under* im)				
ʒ	fifti		*fifty*	fifti
under i)				
	ðiin		*thine*	ðain
	swiin		*swine*	swain
ın	shiin	692	*shine*	shain
	shriin		*shrine*	shrain
	wiin		*[illegible]ne*	wain
	mii(n)		*[illegible], my*	mai(n)
	twiin	696	*t[illegible]e*	twain
n	piin		*pi[illegible]*	pain
	riim		*rhyme*	raim
ı	riim		*rime*	raim
	liim	700	*lime*	laim
	sliim		*slime*	slaim
)man (*under* im)				
	tiim		*time*	taim
ı	stii		*stye*	stai
ıl	stiil	704	*stile*	stail
ap	stirup		*stirrup*	stirəp

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ī (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
mīgan	mii		*mie*	mii
rīce	rich		*rich*	rich
gelīc	liic	708	*like*	laic
-līc (*under* i)				
sīcan	siih		*sigh*	sai
snīcan	snèèk		*sneak*	sniic
strīcan	striic		*strike*	straic
dīc	diic	712	*dyke*	daic
	dich		*ditch*	dich
īdel	iidl		*idle*	aidl
rīdan	riid		*ride*	raid
sīde	siid	716	*side*	said
slīdan	sliid		*slide*	slaid
wīd	wiid		*wide*	waid
glīdan	gliid		*glide*	glaid
cīdan	chiid	720	*chide*	chaid
tīd	tiid		*tide*	taid
bīdan	biid		*bide*	baid
brīdels	briidl		*bridle*	braidl
slītan (*under* i)				
smītan	smiit	724	*smite*	smait
edwītan (*under* i)				
wrītan	wriit		*write*	rait
hwīt	whiit		*white*	whait
bītan	biit		*bite*	bait
rīpe	riip	728	*ripe*	raip
rīpan	rèèp		*reap*	riip
slīpan	slip		*slip*	slip
grīpan	griip		*gripe*	graip

y.

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
flyht	fliht	732	*flight*	flait
byht	biht		*bight*	bait
styrian	stir		*stir*	stəər
cyrice	church (i, y)		*church*	chəəch

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

y (*continued*).

D.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	-byri	736	(*Canter*)*bury*	-bəri
	wriht		*wright*	rait
under l)				
	burden		*burden*	bəədn
	wurs		*worse*	wəəs
	furz	740	*furze*	fəəz
	þirst		*thirst*	þəəst
	first		*first*	fəəst
	wurm		*worm*	wəəm
ι	byri	744	*bury*	beri
	wurc		*work*	wəəc
	mirci		*mirky*	məəci
bs.)	wiird		*wierd* (adj.)	wiəd
	birþ	748	*birth*	bəəþ
{	skirt		*skirt*	skəət
	shirt		*shirt*	shəət
	wurt		*wort*	wəət
ill)	il	752	*ill*	il
	hil		*hill*	hil
	þril		*thrill*	þril
	sil		*sill*	sil
	mil	756	*mill*	mil
	fil		*fill*	fil
	bilu		*billow*	bilóu
	filþ		*filth*	filþ
	gild	760	*gild*	gild
	byld (i)		*build*	bild
	gilt		*guilt*	gilt
	ciþ		*kith* (*and kin*)	ciþ

·, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
cyssan	cis	764	*kiss*	cis
bysig	byzi		*busy*	bizi
wȳscan	wish		*wish*	wish
lystan	list		*list(less)*	list
fȳst	fist	768	*fist*	fist
clyster	cluster		*cluster*	cləstər
treysta N.	tryst (u)		*trust*	trəst
yfel	? èèvel		*evil*	iivl
lyftan	lift	772	*lift*	lift
cyng	cing		*king*	cing
ynce	inch		*inch*	inch
þyncan	þinc		*think*	þinc
þynne	þin	776	*thin*	þin
synn	sin		*sin*	sin
cynn	cin		*kin*	cin
cyning (*under* ng)				
dyne	din		*din*	din
mynster	minster	780	*minster*	minstər
gemynd	miind		*mind*	maind
gecynde	ciind		*kind*	caind
tynder	tinder		*tinder*	tindər
byndel	bundl	784	*bundle*	bəndl
mynet	mint		*mint*	mint
dynt	dint		*dint*	dint
trymman	trim		*trim*	trim
cymlic	cumli	788	*comely*	cəmli
hrycg	rij		*ridge*	rij
lyge	lii		*lie*	lai
flycge (*adj.*)	flejd		*fledged*	flejd
mycg	mij	792	*mij*	mij

a(æ ea ẹi), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
e	drii		*dry*	drai
an	byy		*buy*	bai
ȝ	brij		*bridge*	brij
i N.	luc	796	*luck*	ləc
e	þic		*thick*	þic
l	much (i)		*much*	məch
n	chicen		*chicken*	chicen
ne	cichen	800	*kitchen*	cichen
	cruch		*crutch*	crəch
n	vixen		*vixen*	vixən
ded	hid		*hid*	hid
	did	804	*did*	did
	litl		*little*	litl
l	shutl		*shuttle*	shətl
an	shut (i)		*shut*	shət
an	spit	808	*spit*	spit
N.	flit		*flit*	flit
an	cnit		*knit*	nit
	pit		*pit*	pit
an	clip	812	*clip*	clip
an	dip		*dip*	dip

ȳ.

.	skii		*sky*	skai
	whii		*why*	whai
	cii	816	*kye*	cai
an	hiir		*hire*	haiər
	fiir		*fire*	faiər
an	fiil		*(de)file*	fail
(*under* y)				
	hiið	820	*hithe*	haið

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ȳ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
cȳðð (*under* y)				
lȳs	liis		*lice*	lais
mȳs	miis		*mice*	mais
fȳst (*under* y)				
wȳscan (*under* y)				
hȳd	hiid		*hide*	haid
hȳdan	hiid	824	*hide*	haid
brȳd	briid		*bride*	braid
prȳte	priid		*pride*	praid

é, eo.

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
þe(=se) ? bleoh(=*blue*)	ðe		*the*	ðe, ðə
leōht	liht	828	*light*	lait
feohtan	fiht		*fight*	fait
smerian	smèèr		*smear*	smiər
sceran	shèèr		*shear*	shiər
steorra	star	832	*star*	star
spere	spèèr		*spear*	spiər
feorr	far		*far*	far
merg (*adj.*)	meri		*merry*	meri
teran	tèèr	836	*tear*	tèər
teru	tar		*tar*	tar
beran bera	bèèr		*bear*	bèər
beorht (*see* briht)				
merhð	mirþ		*mirth*	məəþ
eorðe	èèrþ	840	*earth*	əəþ
heorð	hèèrþ		*hearth*	haəþ
weorð	wurþ		*worth*	wəəþ
feorðling	farðing		*farthing*	faəðing
*dērð	dèèrþ	844	*dearth*	dəəþ

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

é, eo (*continued*).

	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	èèrl		*earl*	əəl
	churl		*churl*	chəəl
r s)				
	þrash		*thrash*	þræsh
r sc)				
	burst	848	*burst*	bəəst
	carv		*carve*	caəv
	swerv		*swerve*	swəəv
	starv		*starve*	staəv
	run	852	*run*	rən
	èèrnest		*earnest*	əənest
	lèèrn		*learn*	ləən
	spurn		*spurn*	spəən.
	yèèrn	856	*yearn*	yəən
	burn		*burn*	bəən
	barm		*barm*	baəm
	dwarf		*dwarf*	dwòəf
	? (iis)berg	860	(*ice*)*berg*	(ais)bəəg
	baru		*barrow*	bæróu
	wurc		*work*	wəəc
	darc		*dark*	daəc
	birch	864	*birch*	bəəch
	barc		*bark*	baəc
	harc		*hark*	haəc
	hèèrcen		*hearken*	haəcen
	swurd	868	*sword*	sòòəd
	hart		*hart*	hart
	hèèrt		*heart*	hart
	swel		*swell*	swel
	smel	872	*smell*	smel
	stèèl		*steal*	stiil
	spel		*spell*	spel
	wel		*well*	wel
	wèèl	876	*weal*	wiil
	fel		*fell*	fel

hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

é, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
fēlagi N.	felu		*fellow*	felóu
melu	mèèl		*meal*	miil
geolo	yelu	880	*yellow*	yelóu
cwelan	cwail.		*quail*	cwéil
belle	bel		*bell*	bel
seolh	sèèl		*seal*	siil
self	self	884	*self*	self
seolfor	silver		*silver*	silvər
delfan	delv		*delve*	delv
twelf	twelv		*twelve*	twelv
elm	elm	888	*elm*	elm
helm	helm		*helm*	helm
swelgan	swalu		*swallow*	swolóu
belgan	belu		*bellow*	belóu
seoloc	silc	892	*silk*	silc
weoloc	whelc		*whelk*	whelc
meolc	milc		*milk*	milc
geolca	yolc		*yolk*	yóuc
heōld (*pret.*)	held	896	*held*	held
seldon	seldom		*seldom*	seldəm
feld	fiild		*field*	fiild
smeltan	smelt		*smelt*	smelt
gefēled	felt	900	*felt*	felt
meltan	melt		*melt*	melt
helpan	help		*help*	help
gelpan	yelp		*yelp*	yelp
leðer	lèèðer	904	*leather*	leðər
weðer	weðer		*wether*	weðer
beneoðan	benèèþ		*beneath*	beniiþ
brēðer	breðren		*brethren*	breðren
cerse	cres	908	*cress*	cres
blētsian	bles		*bless*	bles
wesle	wèèzəl		*weasel*	wiizl
besma	bezom		*besom*	bezəm

é, eo (*continued*).

D.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	þresh	912	*thresh*	þræsh
	fresh		*fresh*	fresh
	sister		*sister*	sistər
	nest		*nest*	nest
	chest	916	*chest*	chest
	èèven		*even*	iivn
	hèèven		*heaven*	hevn
	seven		*seven*	sevn
	wèèv	920	*weave*	wiiv
	fèèver		*fever*	fiivər
	þeft		*theft*	þeft
	hung		*hung*	hung
	ten	924	*ten*	ten
n	beyond		*beyond*	beyond
eam)				
	brambl		*bramble*	bræmbl
	wai		*way*	wéi
an	beg	928	*beg*	beg
	plai		*play*	pléi
	lair		*lair*	lèèər
	sail		*sail*	séil
	rain	932	*rain*	réin
n	lain		*lain*	léin
	þaan		*thane*	þéin
n	twain		*twain*	twéin
ı	brain	936	*brain*	bréin
	blain		*(chill)blain*	bléin
	braid		*braid*	bréid
	spèèc		*speak*	spiic
	wrèèc	940	*wreak*	rec
	brèèc		*break*	bréic

r, hr, l, hl; ᵹ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

é, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
nēxt	next		*next*	next
bēcnian	becon		*beckon*	becən
weder	wèèðer	944	*weather*	weðər
fēded	fed		*fed*	fed
medu	mèèd		*mead*	miid
cnedan	cnèèd		*knead*	niid
tredan	trèèd	948	*tread*	tred
gebed	bèèd		*bead*	biid
brēded	bred		*bred*	bred
blēded	bled		*bled*	bled
etan	èèt	952	*eat*	iit
lēt (*pret.*)	let		*let*	let
fetor	feter		*fetter*	fetər
setlian	setl		*settle*	setl
nebb	nib	956	*nib*	nib
scǣphirde	shepherd		*shepherd*	shepəd
*dēpð	depþ		*depth*	depþ
pepor	peper		*pepper*	pepər
slǣpte	slept	960	*slept*	slept

è.

èrian	èèr		*ear*	iər
swèrian	swèèr		*swear*	swèər
wèrian	wèèr		*wear*	wèər
mère (*sm.*)	mèèr	964	*mere*	miər
mère (*sf.*)	maar		*mare*	mèər
mèrran	mar		*mar*	mar
bère	bar-		*bar-ley*	baəli
bèrige	beri	968	*berry*	beri
ǣr(e)st	erst		*erst*	əəst
mèrsc	marsh		*marsh*	maəsh

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

è (*continued*).

LD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	haru		*harrow*	hærou
bère-ærn)	barn	972	*barn*	baən
n	smirc		*smirk*	sməəc
	yard		*yard*	yaəd
	girdl		*girdle*	gəədl
d	girt	976	*girt*	gəət
fon	eleven		*eleven*	elevən
	hel		*hell*	ḥel
	sel		*sell*	sel
	sili	980	*silly*	sili
	shel		*shell*	shel
	wel		*well*	wel
	fel		*fell*	fel
	cwel	984	*quell*	cwel
	cil		*kill*	cil
N.	dwel		*dwell*	dwel
	tel		*tell*	tel
	els	988	*else*	els
	welsh		*Welsh*	welsh
	shelf		*shelf*	shelf
	el		*ell*	el
	talu	992	*tallow*	tælou
	beluz		*bellows*	belóuz
	beli		*belly*	beli
	eldest		*eldest*	eldest
n	wiild	996	*wield*	wiild
	geld		*geld*	geld
	belt		*belt*	belt
	whelp		*whelp*	whelp
	flesh	1000	*flesh*	flesh

r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

è (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
behǣs	behest		*behest*	behest
wrǣstan	wrest		*wrest*	rest
gèst	gest		*guest*	gest
bè(t)st	best	1004	*best*	best
wèsp	wasp		*wasp*	wosp
ǣfre	ever		*ever*	evər
èfese	èèvz		*eaves*	iivz
(ic) hèfe	hèèv	1008	*heave*	hiiv
hèfig	hèèvi		*heavy*	hevi
èft	eft		*eft(soons)*	eft
bereāfod	bereft		*bereft*	bereft
gelǣfed	left	1012	*left*	left
ðǣm	ðem		*them*	ðem
stèmn	stem		*stem*	stem
èngland	england		*England*	inglənd
ènglisc	english	1016	*English*	inglish
sèngan	sinj		*singe*	sinj
*lèngð	lengþ		*length*	lengþ
strèngðo	strengþ		*strength*	strengþ
hlènce	linc	1020	*link*	linc
þèncan (*see* þyncan)				
stènc	stench		*stench*	stench
wèncle	wench		*wench*	wench
frèncisc	french		*French*	french
cwèncan	cwench	1024	*quench*	cwench
drèncan	drench		*drench*	drench
bènc	bench		*bench*	bench
hènne	hen		*hen*	hen
lǣnan	lend	1028	*lend*	lend
wènian	wèèn		*wean*	wiin
wènn	wen		*wen*	wen
fènn	fen		*fen*	fen
mènn	men	1032	*men*	men
cènnan	cen		*ken*	cen
dènn	den		*den*	den

è (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
;	peni		*penny*	peni
an	?clènz	1036	*cleanse*	clenz
	end		*end*	end
le	handi		*†handy*	hændi
n	rend		*rend*	rend
	send	1040	*send*	send
n	spend		*spend*	spend
n	wend		*wend*	wend
	bend		*bend*	bend
n	blend	1044	*blend*	blend
d	rent		*rent*	rent
en	lent		*lent*	lent
	sent		*sent*	sent
d	spent	1048	*spent*	spent
d	went		*went*	went
l	bent		*bent*	bent
e	emberz		*embers*	embəəz
	(temz)	1052	*Thames*	temz
	empti		*empty*	em(p)ti
	au		*awe*	òò
	ej		*edge*	ej
	eg	1056	*egg*	eg
	hej		*hedge*	hej
	lai		*lay*	léi
	leg		*leg*	leg
	sai	1060	*say*	séi
	sej		*sedge*	sej
	wej		*wedge*	wej
	ail		*ail*	éil
	aach	1064	*ache*	éic
n	recon		*reckon*	recən
adj.)	lèèc		*leak*	liic
n	strech		*stretch*	strech
	wrech	1068	*wretch*	rech
	fech		*fetch*	fech
	nec		*neck*	nec

; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

è (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
ahrèddan	rid		*rid*	rid
gelǣded	led	1072	*led*	led
stède	stèèd		*stead*	sted
wèdd	wed		*to wed*	wed
bèdd	bed		*bed*	bed
lèttan	let	1076	*let*	let
lǣtan				
sèttan	set		*set*	set
gesèted				
wǣt (*adj.*)	wet		*wet*	wet
hwèttan	whet		*whet*	whet
nètt	net	1080	*net*	net
nètele	netl		*nettle*	netl
mète	mèèt		*meat*	miit
cètel	cetl		*kettle*	cetl
bètera	beter	1084	*better*	betər
èbbian	eb		*ebb*	eb
wèbb	web		*web*	web
nèbb	nib		*nib*	nib
stèppan	step	1088	*step*	step

ē.

hē	héé		*he*	hii
þē	ðéé		*thee*	ðii
wē	wéé		*we*	wii
mē	méé	1092	*me*	mii
gē	yéé		*ye*	yii
hēh	hiih		*high*	hai
nēh	niih		*nigh*	nai
hēr	héér	1096	*here*	hiər
gehēran	? hèèr (éé)		*hear*	hiər
wērig	? wèèri (éé)		*weary*	wiəri
hērcnian	hèèrcen		*hearken*	haəcən

ē (*continued*).

LD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	hèèrd	1100	*heard*	həəd
	héél		*heel*	hiil
	stéél		*steel*	stiil
	féél		*feel*	fiil
	chil	1104	*chill*	chil
N.	cnéél		*kneel*	niil
(*under* ō)				
	tééþ		*teeth*	tiiþ
(*under* é)				
	beléév		*believe*	beliiv
	sléév	1108	*sleeve*	sliiv
	diiv		*dive*	daiv
nder é)				
ret.) (*under* é)				
	shéén		*sheen*	shiin
	wéén	1112	*ween*	wiin
	gréén		*green*	griin
	céén		*keen*	ciin
	cwéén		*queen*	cwiin
	ten	1116	*ten*	ten
e	þirtéén		*thirteen*	þəətiin
der ō)				
n	séém		*seem*	siim
	déém		*deem*	diim
	téém	1120	*teem*	tiim
(*under* é)				
eā)	ei, ii		*eye*	ai
	hai		*hay*	héi
.	slii		*sly*	slai
	tii	1124	*tie*	tai
	ééc		*eke*	iic
eā)	rééc		*reek*	riic
= eā)	ric		*rick*	ric
	rec	1128	*reck*	rec
eā)	lééc		*leek*	liic

; r, hr, l, hl; ɤ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ē (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
sēcan	sééc		*seek*	siic
cēc (=eā)	chééc		*cheek*	chiic
bēce	bééch	1132	*beech*	biich
brēc	bréééch		*breech*	briich
nēxt (*under* é)				
bēcnian (*under* é)				
hēdan	hééd		*heed*	hiid
rēdan	rèèd (éé)		*read*	riid
stēda	stééd	1136	*steed*	stiid
spēd	spééd		*speed*	spiid
fēdan	fééd		*feed*	fiid
fēded (*under* é)				
nēd	nééd		*need*	niid
mēd	mééd	1140	*meed*	miid
glēd	glééd		*gleed*	gliid
crēda	crééd		*creed*	criid
brēdan	brééd		*breed*	briid
blēdan	bléééd	1144	*bleed*	bliid
lēt (*under* é)				
swēte	swéét		*sweet*	swiit
scēt (=eā)	shéét		*sheet*	shiit
fēt	féét		*feet*	fiit
gemētan	méét	1148	*meet*	miit
grētan	gréét		*greet*	griit
bētel	béétl		*beetle*	biitl
blētsian (*under* é)				
stēp (=eā)	stéép		*steep*	stiip
stēpel	stéépl	1152	*steeple*	stiipl
wēpan	wéép		*weep*	wiip
cēpan	céép		*keep*	ciip
crēpel	cripl		*cripple*	cripl
dēpan(*see* dyppan)	dip	1156	*dip*	dip
*dēpð (*under* é)				

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ̅, eā, eō, u, o.

ǣ = (éé).

).	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	?hair		*hair*	hèər
	ð̀èèr		*there*	ðèər
	wèèr		*were*	wèər
	whèèr	1160	*where*	whèər
	fèèr		*fear*	fiər
	?béér		*bier*	biər
	éél		*eel*	iil
	sili	1164	*silly*	sili
	mèèl		*meal*	miil
	brèèþ		*breath*	breþ
	brèèð		*breathe*	briið
	chééz	1168	*cheese*	chiiz
	èèven		*even*	iivn
nder a)				
	waav		*wave*	wéiv
	weih		*weigh*	wéi
	whei	1172	*whey*	whéi
	neih		*neigh*	néi
	grai, grei		*gray, grey*	gréi
	cei		*key*	cii
	weiht	1176	*weight*	wéit
	léćch		*leech*	liich
	spééch		*speech*	spiich
	þrèèd		*thread*	þred
	wéédz	1180	*weeds*	wiidz
	sééd		*seed*	siid
	gréédi		*greedy*	griidi
	déćd		*deed*	diid
	drèèd	1184	*dread*	dred
	néédl		*needle*	niidl
der è)				
	strééť		*street*	striit
r è)				

, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ǣ(=éé) (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
blǣtan	blèèt	1188	*bleat*	bliit
slǣp	sléép		*sleep*	sliip
swǣpan	swéép		*sweep*	swiip
scǣp	shéép		*sheep*	shiip
wǣpen	wèèpon	1192	*weapon*	wepən
slǣpte (*under* é)				

ǣ(=èè).

sǣ	sèè		*sea*	sii
tǣhte (*under* a)				
ǣr	èèr		*ere*	èèər
rǣran	rèèr		*rear*	riər
ǣrest (*under* è)				
hǣlan	hèèl	1196	*heal*	hiil
þrǣl N.	þral		*thrall*	þròòl
dǣl	dèèl		*deal*	diil
hǣlð	? hèèlþ		*health*	helþ
ǣlc (*under* c)				
hǣðen	hèèðen	1200	*heathen*	hiiðən
scǣð	shèèþ		*sheath*	shiiþ
wrǣð	wrèèþ		*wreath*	riiþ
? brǣð	brèèþ		*breath*	breþ
? brǣðan	brèèð	1204	*breathe*	briið
behǣs (*under* è)				
tǣsan	tèèz		*tease*	tiiz
flǣsc (*under* è)				

æ̅(=èè) (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
n (*under* a)				
tan (*under* è)				
d	leud		*lewd*	lyuud
	lèèv		*leave*	liiv
ige (*under* a)				
(*under* è)				
ed (*under* è)				
(*under* a)				
ı (*under* è)				
e	lèèn	1208	*lean*	liin
e	clèèn		*clean*	cliin
an	mèèn		*mean*	miin
ēne	mèèn		*mean*	miin
rie (*under* è)				
(*under* è)				
	clai	1212	*clay*	cléi
;	èèch		*each*	iich
n	rèèch		*reach*	riich
n	tèèch		*teach*	tiich
(=ā)	blèèc	1216	*bleak*	bliic
an	blèèch		*bleach*	bliich
n	rèèd		*read*	riid
n	lèèd		*lead*	liid
led (*under* è)				
dð	brèèdþ	1220	*breadth*	bredþ
	hèèt		*heat*	hiit
N.	sèèt		*seat*	siit
;	swèèt		*sweat*	swet
te (*under* a)				
te	whèèt	1224	*wheat*	whiit
(*under* è)				
(*under* a)				

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eā.

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
fleā	flèè		*flea*	flii
geā	yèè		*yea*	yéi
ceā	? chuuh		*chough*	chəf
þeāh	ðòòuh	1228	*though*	ðóu
eāre	èèr		*ear*	iər
forseārian	sèèr		*sear*	siər
neār	nèèr		*near*	niər
geār	yèèr	1232	*year*	yiər
teār	tèèr		*tear*	tiər
deāð	dèèþ		*death*	deþ
ceās	chòòz		*chase*	chóuz
eāst	èèst	1236	*east*	iist
eāstre	èèster		*easter*	iistər
heāwan	heu		*hew*	hyuu
hreāw	rau		*raw*	ròò
þeāw	þeu	1240	*thew*	þyuu
sleāw	slòòu		*slow*	slóu
sceāwian	shòòu (eu)		*show* (*shew*)	shóu
screāwa	shreu		*shrew*	shruu
streāw	strau	1244	*straw*	stròò
streāwian	streu		*strew*	struu
feāwa	feu		*few*	fyuu
deāw	deu		*dew*	dyuu
breāw (*see* brū)				
heāfod (*under* d)				
bereāfian	berèèv	1248	*bereave*	beriiv
leāf	lèèf		*leaf*	liif
sceāf	shèèf		*sheaf*	shiif
deāf	dèèf		*deaf*	def
beān	bèèn	1252	*bean*	biin
seām	sèèm		*seam*	siim
steām	stèèm		*steam*	stiim
streām	strèèm		*stream*	striim
gleām	glèèm	1256	*gleam*	gliim
dreām	drèèm		*dream*	driim

eā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
n	tèèm		*team*	tiim
n	bèèm		*beam*	biim
ɜ (*under* ē)				
ʒ	fleu	1260	*flew*	fluu
ic (*under* ē)				
(*under* ē)				
: (*under* ē)				
;en	bèècon		*beacon*	biicən
(fo)d	hèèd		*head*	hed
l	rèèd		*red*	red
	lèèd	1264	*lead*	led
dan	shed		*shed*	shed
ādian	shred		*shred*	shred
l (*under* ē)				
l	dèèd		*dead*	ded
d	brèèd	1268	*bread*	bred
t (*under* ē)				
t (*pret.*)	†shot		*shot*	shot
;	nèèt		*neat*	niit
t	grèèt		*great*	gréit
:an	bèèt	1272	*beat*	biit
)	hèèp		*heap*	hiip
pan	hlèèp		*leap*	liip
p (*under* ē)				
) (*subs.*)	chèèp (*adj.*)		*cheap*	chiip
)man	chapman	1276	*chapman*	chæpmən
p (*pret.*)	†crept		*crept*	crept

eō.

	þréé		*three*	þrii
(*vb.*)	séé		*see*	sii
	shéé	1280	*she*	shii
ı)	féé		*fee*	fii

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
freō.	fréé		*free*	frii
fleō	fléé		*flee*	flii
gleō	gléé	1284	*glee*	glii
beō (*vb.*)	béé		*be*	bii
beō (*subs.*)	béé		*bee*	bii
þeōh	þiih		*thigh*	þai
hreōh	ruuh	1288	*rough*	rəf
leōht (*under* é)				
hleōr	léér		*leer*	liər
deōr	déér		*deer*	diər
deōre	dèèr (éé)		*dear*	diər
deōrling	darling	1292	*darling*	daəling
dreōrig	drèèri		*dreary*	driəri
beōr	béér		*beer*	biər
feōrða	fourþ		*fourth*	fòəþ
hweōl	whéél	1296	*wheel*	whiil
? geōl	?		*yule*	yuul
ceōl	céél		*keel*	ciil
heōld (*under* é)				
seōðan	sééð		*seethe*	siið
geō(g)uð	yuuþ	1300	*youth*	yuuþ
forleōsan	(lóóz)		*lose*	luuz
freōsan	frééz		*freeze*	friiz
fleōse	flééз		*fleece*	fliis
ceōsan	chóóz	1304	*choose*	chuuz
breōst	brèèst		*breast*	brest
eōw (*pron.*)	yuu		*you*	yuu
eōw	yeu		*yew*	yuu
eōwe	eu	1308	*ewe*	yuu
hreōwan	reu		*rue* (*rew*)	ruu
seōwian	seu		*sew*	sóu
hleōw	léé		*lee*	lii
feōwer	four	1312	*four*	fòər

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
feōwertig	forti		*forty*	fòəti
greōw (*pret.*)	greu		*grew*	gruu
ceōwan	cheu		*chew*	chuu
crẹōw (*pret.*)	creu	1316	*crew*	cruu
cneōw (*pret.*)	cneu		*knew*	nyuu
cneōw (*subs.*)	cnéé		*knee*	nii
treōw	tréé		*tree*	trii
treōwe	treu	1320	*true* (*trew*)	truu
breōwan	breu		*brew*	bruu
bleōw (*pret.*)	bleu		*blew*	bluu
hreōwð	ryyþ		*ruth*	ruuþ
treōwð	tryyþ	1324	*truth*	truuþ
leōf	(lééf)		*lief*	liif
þeōf	(þééf)		*thief*	þiif
cleōfan	cleev		*cleave*	cliiv
deōfol	devil	1328	*devil*	devl
geōng	yung		*young*	yəng
betweōnan	betwéén		*between*	betwiin
*gebeōn (*partic.*)	béén		*been*	biin
feōnd	(féénd)	1332	*fiend*	fiind
freōnd	(fréénd)		*friend*	frend
miūc N.	mééc		*meek*	miic
leōgan	lii		*lie*	lai
fleōga	flii	1336	*fly*	flai
geōguð	yuuþ		*youth*	yuuþ
hreōd	rééd		*reed*	riid
weōd	wééd		*weed*	wiid
neōd	nééd	1340	*need*	niid
beōdan	bid		*bid*	bid
sceōtan	shóót		*shoot*	shuut
fleōt	fléét		*fleet*	fliit
beōt (*part.*)	beet	1344	*beat*	biit
heōp (*rose*)	hip		*hip*	hip

h; r, hr̥, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw̥, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
hleōp (*pret.*)	†lept		*lept*	lept
sweōp (*pret.*)	†swept		*swept*	swept
weōp (*pret.*)	†wept	1348	*wept*	wept
creōpan	créép		*creep*	criip
deōp	déép		*deep*	diip

u.

duru	(duur)		*door*	dòòr
þurh {	þruuh	1352	*through*	þruu
	þoruh		*thorough*	þərə
furh	furu		*furrow*	fəróu
crulla N.	curl		*curl*	cəəl
wurð	wurþ	1356	*worth*	wəəþ
furðor	furðer		*further*	fəəðər
þunresdæg	þursdai		*Thursday*	þəəzdi
curs	curs		*curse*	cəəs
turf	turf	1360	*turf*	təəf
murnian	muurn		*mourn*	mòən
wurm	wurm		*worm*	wəəm
burg	?boru		*borough*	bərə
wurcan	wurc	1364	*work*	wəəc
swurd	swurd		*sword*	sòəd
wull	? wuul (u)		*wool*	wul
full	full		*full*	ful
crulla (*under* r)				
bulluca	buloc	1368	*bullock*	buləc

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

u (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	wulf		*wolf*	wulf
:	shuulder		*shoulder*	shóuldər
	us		*us*	əs
ıda	huzband	1372	*husband*	həzbənd
	tusc		*tusk*	təsc
; N.	busc		*busk*	bəsc
	rust		*rust*	rəst
	lust	1376	*lust*	ləst
r.	gust		*gust*	gəst
	dust		*dust*	dəst
	luv		*love*	ləv
on	eleven	1380	*eleven*	elevən
	shuv		*shove*	shəv
	duv		*dove*	dəv
.n	abuv		*above*	əbəv
r	hunger	1384	*hunger*	həngər
ı	sung		*sung*	səng
en	wrung		*wrung*	rəng
n	clung		*clung*	cləng
	tung	1388	*tongue*	təng
;	munc		*monk*	mənc
'n	drunc		*drunk*	drənc
	huni		*honey*	həni
	þunder	1392	*thunder*	þəndər
	sun		*son*	sən
	sun		*sun*	sən
n	shun		*shun*	shən
ɜn	spun	1396	*spun*	spən
nen	wun		*won*	wən
	nun		*nun*	nən
(*under* nc)				
ı	cuning		*cunning*	cəning
	dun	1400	*dun*	dən
	tun		*tun*	tən
	under		*under*	əndər

; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

u (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
hund	huund		*hound*	haund
hundred	hundred	1404	*hundred*	həndred
sund *(subs.)* gesund *(adj.)*	suund		*sound*	saund
sundor	sunder		*sunder*	səndər
wund	wuund		*wound*	wuund
gewunden	wuund	1408	*wound*	waund
wundor	wunder		*wonder*	wəndər
funden	fuund		*found*	faund
grund	gruund		*ground*	graund
grunden	gruund	1412	*ground*	graund
bunden	buund		*bound*	baund
pund	puund		*pound*	paund
huntian	hunt		*hunt*	hənt
stunt (*adj.*)	stunt	1416	*to stunt*	stənt
? munt	muunt		*mount*	maunt
þūma	þumb		*thumb*	þəm
sum	sum		*some*	səm
sumor	sumer	1420	*summer*	səmər
swummen	swum		*swum*	swəm
slumerian	slumber		*slumber*	sləmbər
guma	gruum		*groom*	gru(u)m
cuman	cum	1424	*come*	cəm
crume	crumb		*crumb*	crəm
dumb	dumb		*dumb*	dəm
ugglig N.	ugli		*ugly*	əgli
sugu	suu	1428	*sow*	sau
fugol	fuul		*fowl*	faul
cnucian	cnoc		*knock*	noc
cnucel	cnucl		*knuckle*	nəcl
bucca	buc	1432	*buck*	bəc
pluccian	pluc		*pluck*	pləc
wudu	? wuud (u)		*wood*	wud
hnutu	nut		*nut*	nət
gutt	gut	1436	*gut*	gət

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

u (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	but		*but*	bət
	buter		*butter*	bətər
N.	put		*put*	put
	up	1440	*up*	əp
	hip		*hip*	hip
	sup		*sup*	səp
	cup		*cup*	cəp

ū.

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	huu	1444	*how*	hau
	ðuu		*thou*	ðau
	nuu		*now*	nau
	cuu		*cow*	cau
	bruu	1448	*brow*	brau
	uur		*our*	auər
	suur		*sour*	sauər
	shuuer		*shower*	shauər
	buuer	1452	*bower*	bauər
	(buur)		*boor*	buər
ʒebūr	(neih)buur		(*neigh*)*bour*	(néi)bər
	uul		*owl*	aul
	fuul	1456	*foul*	faul
	suuþ		*south*	sauþ
	muuþ		*mouth*	mauþ
	uncuuþ		*uncouth*	əncuuþ
	cuu(l)d	1460	*could*	cud
	(buuþ)		*booth*	buuþ
er u)				
	huus		*house*	haus
	luus		*louse*	laus
	þuuzend	1464	*thousand*	þauzənd
	muus		*mouse*	maus
under u)				
der u)				

r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ū (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
onbūfan (*under* u)				
scūnian (*under* u)				
dūn	duun		*down*	daun
tūn	tuun		*town*	taun
brūn	bruun	1468	*brown*	braun
þūma (*under* u)				
rūm	(ruum)		*room*	ruum
rūg	ruuh		*rough*	rəf
būgan	buu		*bow*	bau
sūcan (*under* u)				
brūcan	(bruuc)	1472	*brook*	bruc
ūder (*under* u)				
hlūd	luud		*loud*	laud
scrūd	shruud		*shroud*	shraud
crūd	cruud		*crowd*	craud
clūd	cluud	1476	*cloud*	claud
ūt	uut		*out*	aut
ūterlice (*under* u)				
lūtan	luut		*lout* (subst.)	laut
clūt	cluut		*clout*	claut
būtan (*under* u)				
prūt	pruud	1480	*proud*	praud
sūpan (*under* u)				

ó.

cohh(ett)an	còuh		*cough*	cof
sōhte	sòuht		*sought*	sòòt
wrohte	wròuht		*wrought*	ròòt
dohtor	dauhter	1484	*daughter*	dòòtər
bohte	bòuht		*bought*	bòòt
brohte	bròuht		*brought*	bròòt

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, é, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ó (*continued*).

LD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	for		*for*	fòòr
	befòòr	1488	*before*	befòòr
	bòòr		*bore*	bòòr
	wurld		*world*	wəəld
	forþ		*forth*	fòəþ
	norþ	1492	*north*	nòəþ
	murðer		*murder* (*th*)	məədər
	hors		*horse*	hòəs
der st)				
	durst		*durst*	dəəst
	burst	1496	*burst*	bəəst
	horn		*horn*	hòən
)n	forlorn		*forlorn*	foəlòən
	þorn		*thorn*	þòən
n	sworn	1500	*sworn*	swòən
	shorn		*shorn*	shòən
ning	morning		*morning*	mòəning
	corn		*corn*	còən
	torn	1504	*torn*	tòən
	born		*born*(*e*)	bòən
	storm		*storm*	stòəm
	former		*former*	fòəmər
	soru	1508	*sorrow*	soróu
	moru		*morrow*	moróu
	boru		*borrow*	boróu
	storc		*stork*	stòəc
	hòòrd	1512	*hoard*	hòəd
	word		*word*	wəəd
	ford		*ford*	fòəd
	bòòrd		*board*	bòəd
	short	1516	*short*	shòət
	port		*port*	pòət
	hòòl		*hole*	hóul
	holu		*hollow*	holou

r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ó (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
holegn	holi	1520	*holly*	holi
þol	þòòl		*thole(pin)*	þóul
swollen	swolen		*swollen*	swóuln
scolu	shòòl		*shoal*	shóul
stolen	stòòlen	1524	*stolen*	stóuln
fola	fòòl		*foal*	fóul
col	còòl		*coal*	cóul
cnoll	cnol		*knoll*	nóul
dol	dul	1528	*dull*	dəl
toll	tol		*toll*	tóul
bolla	bóul		*bowl*	bóul
bolster	bolster		*bolster*	bóulstər
folgian	folu	1532	*follow*	folou
wolcen	welcin		*welkin*	welcin
folc	folc		*folk*	fóuc
scolde	? shuuld		*should*	shud
molde	mould	1536	*mould*	mould
wolde	? wuuld		*would*	wud
gold	gold		*gold*	gould
bolt	bolt		*bolt*	bóult
froða N.	froþ	1540	*froth*	frò(ò)þ
moððe	moþ		*moth*	mò(ò)þ
broð	broþ		*broth*	bròòþ
hose	hòòz		*hose*	hóuz
*gefrosen	fròòzen	1544	*frozen*	fróuzn
nosu	nòòz		*nose*	nóuz
*gecosen	chòòzen		*chosen*	chóuzn
cross N.	cross		*cross*	cros
blōsma	blosom	1548	*blossom*	blosəm
gōsling	gosling		*gosling*	gozling
frost	frost		*frost*	frost
òf	ov		*of*	ov
	of	1552	*off*	of
ofen	? òòven		*oven*	əvn

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ó (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	ofer		*offer*	ofər
	òòver		*over*	óuvər
	? shòòvel	1556	*shovel*	shəvl
	clòòven		*cloven*	clóuvn
	oft		*oft*	oft
	loft		*loft*	loft
	soft	1560	*soft*	soft
	long		*long*	long
	þrong		*throng*	þrong
	þong		*thòng*	þong
subs.)	song	1564	*song*	song
	strong		*strong*	strong
	wrong		*wrong*	rong
re	monger (u)		*monger*	məngər
òng	among (u)	1568	*among*	əməng
	tongz		*tongs*	tongz
	on		*on*	on
	bond		*bond*	bond
	from	1572	*from*	from
	(wóómb)		*womb*	wuum
	còòmb		*comb*	cóum
	frog		*frog*	frog
	trouh	1576	*trough*	tròf
	bou		*bow*	bóu
n	floun		*flown*	flóun
	loc		*lock*	loc
	soc	1580	*sock*	soc
	smoc		*smock*	smoc
	smòòc		*smoke*	smóuc
	stoc		*stock*	stoc
rocen	spòòcen	1584	*spoken*	spóucən
	floc		*flock*	floc
	yòòc		*yoke*	yóuc

; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ó (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
cocc	coc		*cock*	coc
coccel	cocl	1588	*cockle*	cocl
crocc	croc		*crock*(*ery*)	croc(əri)
cnocian	cnoc		*knock*	noc
brocen	bròòcen		*broken*	bróucən
oxa	ox	1592	*ox*	ox
fox	fox		*fox*	fox
rōd	rod		*rod*	rod
soden	soden		*sodden*	sodn
gescōd	shod	1596	*shod*	shod
fōdor	foder		*fodder*	fodər
god	god		*god*	god
codd	cod		*cod*	cod
troden	troden	1600	*trodden*	trodn
bodian	bòòd		*bode*	bóud
bodig	bodi		*body*	bodi
rotian	rot		*rot*	rot
hlot	lot	1604	*lot*	lot
þrotu	þròòt		*throat*	þróut
(ge)scot	shot		*shot*	shot
scotland	scotland		*Scotland*	scotlənd
flotian	flòòt	1608	*float*	flóut
mot	mòòt		*mote*	móut
cot	cot		*cot*	cot
cnotta	cnot		*knot*	not
botm	botom	1612	*bottom*	botəm
loppestre	lobster		*lobster*	lobstər
open	òòpen		*open*	óupən
hoppian	hop		*hop*	hop
hopa	hòòp	1616	*hope*	hóup
sop	sop		*sop*	sop
stoppian	stop		*stop*	stop
(āttor)coppa	cob(web)		*cob*(*web*)	cob(web)
cropp	crop	1620	*crop*	crop
dropa	drop		*drop*	drop
topp	top		*top*	top

Ō.

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
	(shóó)		*shoe*	shuu
	(dóó)	1624	*do*	duu
	tóó		*too, to*	tuu
	tuuh		*tough*	təf
ə, etc. (*under* o)				
	(w)hòòr		*whore*	hòòr
	swòòr	1628	*swore*	swòòr
	flóór		*floor*	flòòr
	móór		*moor*	muər
	stóól		*stool*	stuul
	cóól	1632	*cool*	cuul
	tóól		*tool*	tuul
	(óóðer)		*other*	əðər
	sóóþ		*sooth*	suuþ
ðe	smóóð	1636	*smooth*	smuuð
dōð	dóóþ		*doth*	dəþ
	tóóþ		*tooth*	tuuþ
r	(bróóðer)		*brother*	brəðər
	góós	1640	*goose*	guus
g (*under* o)				
	(bóózəm)		*bosom*	buzəm
a (*under* o)				
	róóst		*roost*	ruust
	must		*must*	məst
ı	róu	1644	*row*	róu
n	lóu		*low*	lóu
ı	flóu		*flow*	flóu
n	gróu		*grow*	gróu
n	blóu	1648	*blow*	blóu
pret.)	(hóóv)		*hove*	hóuv
ubs.)	hóóf		*hoof*	huuf
an	(behóóv)		*behove*	behuuv (óu)
subs.)	gróóv	1652	*groove*	gruuv
	(glóóv)		*glove*	gləv

ı; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
sōfte (*under* o)				
sōna	sóón		*soon*	suun
spōn N.?	spóón		*spoon*	spuun
nōn	nóón	1656	*noon*	nuun
mōna	móón		*moon*	muun
mōnað	(móóneþ)		*moneth, month*	mənþ
mōnandæg	(móóndai)		*Monday*	məndi
gedōn	(dóón)	1660	*done*	dən
bōn N.	bóón		*boon*	buun
gōma	gum		*gum*	gəm
glōm	glóóm		*gloom*	gluum
dōm	dóóm	1664	*doom*	duum
brōm	bróóm		*broom*	bruum
blōma	blóóm		*bloom*	bluum
slōg	sleu		*slew*	sluu
wōgian	wóó	1668	*woo*	wuu
genōg	enuuh		*enough*	enəf
drōg	dreu		*drew*	druu
bōg	buuh		*bough*	bau
plōg N.	pluuh	1672	*plough*	plau
hōc	hóóc		*hook*	huc
hrōc	róóc		*rook*	ruc
lōcian	lóóc		*look*	luc
scōc	shóóc	1676	*shook*	shuc
wōc	(awóóc)		*awoke*	əwóuc
cōc	cóóc		*cook*	cuc
crōc N.	cróóc		*crook*	cruc
tōc	tóóc	1680	*took*	tuc
bōc	bóóc		*book*	buc
brōc	bróóc		*brook*	bruc
hōd	hóód		*hood*	hud
rōd	róód	1684	*rood*	ruud
	rod		*rod*	rod
gescōd (*under* o)				
stōd	stóód		*stood*	stud
fōda	fóód		*food*	fuud
fōdor (*under* o)				
flōd	flóód	1688	*flood*	fləd
mōd	móód		*mood*	muud

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ō (*continued*).

).	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
	(móóðer)		*mother*	məðər
	góód		*good*	gud
	blóód	1692	*blood*	bləd
	bróód		*brood*	bruud
eg	wednesdai		*Wednesday*	we(d)nzdi
	róót		*root*	ruut
	fóót	1696	*foot*	fut
	bóót		*boot*	buut
	whóóp		*whoop*	huup

ADDENDA.

	maru		*marrow*	mæróu
	chalc	1700	*chalk*	chòòc
	haazel		*hazel*	héizl
	shanc		*shank*	shænc
	wagon		*waggon*	wægən
	wain	1704	*wain*	wéin
	draun		*drawn*	dròòn
	gain		*gain*	géin
	sac		*sack*	sæc
	slac	1708	*slack*	slæc
	wach		*watch*	woch
	maat		*mate*	méit
	axl		*axle*	æxl
	later	1712	*latter*	lætər
	gab		*gab*	gæb
	taaper		*taper*	téipər
ı	òòr		*ore*	òòr
;	?hòòlidaj	1716	*holiday*	holidi
	ròòu		*row*	róu
an	cnòòulej		*knowledge*(sbst.)	nolej
	anon		*anon*	ənon

hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

Addenda (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
wrist	wrist	1720	*wrist*	rist
hiw	heu		*hue (hew)*	hyuu
skipta N.	shift		*shift*	shift
wringan	wring		*wring*	ring
slipor	sliperi	1724	*slippery*	sliperi
hwīnan	whiin		*whine*	whain
cyrnel	cernel		*kernel*	cəənəl
sȳpan	sip		*sip*	sip
féðer	fèèðer	1728	*feather*	feðər
becwéðan	becwèèð		*bequeathe*	becwiið
wést	west		*west*	west
weocce	wic		*wick*	wic
rǣdels	ridl	1732	*riddle*	ridl
gemēted	met		*met*	met
stèrne	stern		*stern*	stəən
rest	rest		*rest*	rəst
wrèncan	wrench	1736	*wrench*	rench
wrǣnna	wren		*wren*	ren
twèntig	twenti		*twenti*	twenti
hēhðo	heiht		*height*	hait
stēran	stéér	1740	*steer*	stiər
cwēn	cwèèn		*quean*	cwiin
? leās	lóós		*loose*	luus
þreātian	þrèèt		*threat*	þret
preōst	(préést)	1744	*priest*	priist
seōc	sic		*sick*	sic
þohte	þòuht		*thought*	þòòt
colt	colt		*colt*	cóult
fōstor	foster	1748	*foster*	fostər
hrōf	róóf		*roof*	ruuf
þus	ðus		*thus*	ðəs
húsþing N.	hustingz		*hustings*	həstingz
suncen	sunc	1752	*sunk*	sənc
skūm	scum		*skum*	scəm

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

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[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to words in the Addenda.

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SUPPLEMENTARY LISTS OF IRREGULARITIES.

Middle Period.

In the following words *æ* and *ea* have become *e* instead of the regular *a*: *gèèr* (gear), *èèrn* (earn), *fern*, *bèèrd* (beard); *elf*, *belch*; *wheðer*, *togeðer*; *les*, *nes*, *lest*, *lèèst* (least), *gest* (guest); *ðen*, *when*; *emet*, *hemp*; *wrec*, *pebl*.

It is clear from these exceptional forms that the Old English *æ* was quite lost after the Transition period; as we see, it was either changed into *a*, or else mispronounced as *è*, just as it would be in the mouth of a foreigner.

The lengthening before *r* in *gèèr*, *èèrn* and *bèèrd* has many parallels, and in the case of *bèèrd* is confirmed by the Modern *biiəd*. The present form *əən*, however, points rather to *ern*, with a short vowel. The lengthening in *lèèst*, although anomalous, is supported by *yèèst* from *yest*=*gist*, by the retention of *òò*=*ā* in *mòòst*, etc., and perhaps by *criist* (see note on 518, below).

a for *ò* in non-preterites (p. 54): *angl*, *hang*, *fang*, *gang*, *bang*.
ò for *a*: *on*, *bond*, *from*, *womb*, *comb*.

ei preserved: *ei* (eye), *ðei* (they), *whei*, *grei*, *cei* (key); *weih* (weigh), *neih*, *neih*(*buur*), *eiht* (eight), *heiht*; *ðeir*; *eiðer*; *rein*(*déér*).

The Modern forms point mostly to *ai*. *ai* (eye) however comes not from *ai*=*ei*, but from *ii*. *cii* (key) is altogether anomalous; so also are the two pronunciations *iiðer* and *aiðər* (either), while the obsolete *éiðər* is regular.

i (*y*) has become *e*, 1) regularly after *y*-consonant: *yel*; *yes*, *yèèst*, *yesterdai*; *yet*. 2) in other words: *her*, *herd* (shepherd); *neðer*; *ðèèz* (these); *èèvil*; *flejd* (fledged).

In *snèèc* and *rèèp* (sneak, reap) a highly anomalous change of *ii* into *èè* seems to have taken place.

é, *eo* become *i*: *liht*, *fiht*; *mirþ* (but *meri*), *birch*; *chil*, *silver*, *ilc*, *milc*, *fiild*; *sister*; *ric*, *wic*; *cripl*, *hip* (=berry), *dip* (?).

è becomes *i*: *smirc*, *gird*(*l*); *sili*, *cil*, *wiild*; *linc*; *rid*; *nib*.

é becomes *a*, 1) before *r*: *star*, *far*, *tar*, *darling* (from *deōrling*), *farðing*, *carv*, *starv*, *barm*, *dwarf*, *baru*, *darc*, *harc*, *hart*. 2) in: *swalu*, *brambl*.

è becomes *a*, 1) before *r*: *mar*, *maar*, *barlei*, *marsh*, *haru*, *barn*, *yard*. 2) in: *talu* (?); *wasp*; *handi* (?), *aach*.

é, *eo* become *u*: *churl*, *burst*, *run*, *spurn*, *burn*; *hung*.

ē, *eō* become *ii*: *ii* (from *eāge*), *lii* (from *leōgan*), *slii*, *flii*, *tii*; *hiih*, *þiih*, *niih*; *diiv* (?).

ē becomes *èè* before *r*: *hèèr*, *wèèri*, *hèèrcn*, *hèèrd*.

In the case of the first two words there is sixteenth century authority for the *éé*-sound also.

ǣ=*éé* becomes *èè*, 1) before *r* in all words except the doubtful *béér*. 2) in: *mèèl*; *brèèð*; *èèven* (evening); *þrèèd*, *drèèd*; *blèèt*; *wèèpon*.

Three of these, however, are made doubtful by the Modern *þred*, *dred*, *wepon*, which point rather to a shortening of the long vowel at an early period.

eō becomes *èè*: *dèèr*, *drèèri*; *brèèst*, *clèèv* (cleave).

There is Early Modern authority for *déér* as well as *dèèr*. *brèèst*, again, is uncertain on account of the Modern *brest*.

eō becomes *óó*: *lóóz*, *chóóz*; *shóót*.

Compare *chòòz* from *ceās* (p. 35), and *ðòòuh* from *þeāh* (note to 1228, below).

eō becomes *u*(*u*): *yuu; ruuh; yuuþ; yùng.*[1]

o becomes *u*: *murðer, durst, burst* (partic.); *dul; amun*[illegible] *munger.*

ō becomes *u*(*u*): *yuu* (you); *tuuh* (tough); *yuuþ*; *yung.*

The following remarks on the diphthongs are intended supplement those on pp. 52, 53, above.

Diphthongs are formed not only by *g* (*gh*), but also by medial and final *h* (=*kh*), but only with back vowels, the new element being always *u* (never *i*), which I have already explained (note p. 80) as a mere *secondary* formation, due *to* the labialization of the following *h*=*kh*: the *h* is consequently not absorbed, as is the case with *g*.

The following are examples of genuine *h*-diphthongs, in which *h* is original, not a later modification of *g* (p. 79):

1) from *ah: lauh, lauhter, slauhter, fauht, tauht.* And perhaps *saù* from *seah,* although the omission of the *h* makes it more probable that it arises from some confusion with the plural *sāwon.*

2) from *āh*: *òòuht* (ought).
not points to *nòòuht*=*nāht; nauht,* however, to a shortened *naht.*

3) from *oh: souht, bouht, bouht.*
For *dauhter* see note to 1484.

In the following words *g* has been anomalously preserved, instead of being diphthongized: *wag, wagon* (but also *wain*), *drag* (but also *drau*), *twig.*

A few general remarks on Middle (or rather Early Modern) English orthography remain to be made.

It is, as we have seen, mainly traditional, but with certain purely phonetic modifications. The first divergence of sound and symbol was the retention of *ee* and *oo* to denote the new sounds *ii* and *uu,* while original *ii* and *uu* themselves changed in the direction of *ai* and *au.* The introduction of *ea* and *oa* to denote the true *ee* and *oo* sound was, on the other hand, a strictly phonetic innovation.

ee and *oo* were partly phonetic, partly historical signs—

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[1] I have repeated most of these words again under *ō*.

they denoted the sounds *ii* and *uu*, and implied at the same time an earlier *éé* and *óó*. But in a few cases it is interesting to observe that they were employed purely phonetically, *against* tradition. An example is afforded by the word written *room*, the Old English *rūm*. In the fourteenth century this word was spelt with the French *ou*=*uu*; but in he Early Modern period the regular *rowm*, corresponding with *town*, etc., was abandoned, probably because it would, like *down*, have suggested the regular diphthong *óu* or *əu*, into which the other old *uu*s changed, and the word was written phonetically *room*, without at all implying a Middle English *róóm*. Other examples are *door* and *groom*, in which *oo* may perhaps represent short *u*, which it almost certainly does in *wool* and *wood*. The use of single *o* to denote short *u* is a well-known feature of Middle English. It occurs chiefly in combination with *w*, *u*(=*v*), *n*, and *m*, and has been explained (first, I believe, by Dr. J. A. H. Murray) as a purely graphic substitute for *u* in combination with letters of similar formation, to avoid confusion. But such a spelling as *wod* would have suggested an *ò*-sound, as in *god*. To avoid all possibility of this pronunciation, the *o* was therefore doubled. This spelling is only inaccurate as regards the quantity; it is, therefore, difficult to see why it was not adopted in the words written *love*, *come*, etc., which ought by their spelling to indicate the pronunciations *lóóv*, *cóóm*, corresponding to Middle English *lòòv*, *còòm*!

Similar fluctuation between the phonetic and historical principle is shown in many words written with the digraph *ie*. *ie* is in itself nothing but a substitute for *ii*, which from purely graphic reasons was never doubled, as being liable to confusion with *u*. The sound of *ii* was, of course, in most cases expressed by *ee*. There were, however, a few words which preserved their Middle English *ii*-sound throughout the Early Modern period (and up to the present day) as well. Such a word as *fiild*, for instance, if written in the fourteenth century spelling *fild*, would have been read, on the analogy of *wild*, *child*, etc., as *féild*, or *fəild*, while to have written *feeld* would have been a violation of the etymological principle. Both history and sound were saved by the adoption of *ie*. The following list of *ie*-words will show that, although *ie* was sometimes used finally to denote the diphthongized sound, it invariably denoted the simple *ii* medially: *hie, lie, die, tie; wierd; yield, shield, wield, field; priest; believe, sieve; lief, thief; fiend, friend.*

In *sieve* we have an instance of *ie* used to denote a short vowel (compare *wool*, etc.); possibly the *ie* was employed simply to prevent the combination *siue*, which would have been graphically ambiguous.

MODERN PERIOD.

The general rule which governs the retention and modification of *a* before sibilants seems to be that it is retained before breath consonants, but changed to *æ* before voice consonants. Thus we find *æz, hæz, hæv* contrasting with *a(a)s, gras, asc, last, staf, after*. The change to *æ* takes place, however, before *sh*, although voiceless: *æsh, ræsh*. Also in *æspen*.[1] In the same way *a* followed by *n* and a voice consonant becomes *æ*, as in *ænd, hænd, ænvil*; but if the consonant which comes after the *n* is voiceless, there is no change, as in *ansər, plant, ant*. These laws do not apply to *a* when followed by the other nasals, in which cases it is always changed: *sænc, drænc; dæmp.*

ii has been preserved in the following words: *mii: shiiər, wiiəd; shiild, wiild, fiild, yiild; wiivəl, wiic.*

Of these words the first only has *ī* in O.E.; all the others are Middle E. lengthenings of *i*, corresponding sometimes to original *i*, sometimes to *è* or *é*. It is worthy of note that all of them are written with *ie*, except *shiiər, wiivəl*, and *wiik*, which are written *shire, weevil, week*. The last two spellings with *e*, which go back as far as the fourteenth century, seem to indicate some confusion with *éé*, although we would rather expect the broad *èè*, as in *snèèc* for *sniic*. It is, however, possible that these *ees* may be simply Early Modern phonetic spellings, like *room*=*ruum*.

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[1] Note, however, that *aspen* is a dissyllable, with a liquid in the second syllable: but we have *after*, not *æfter*.

èè has become *éi* (instead of *ii*): *yéi* (yea); *bréic; gréit.*[1]

u has been preserved, 1) after *w*: *wuman, wul, wulf, wuund, wud* (not in *wəndər*). 2) in other cases: *ful, bul(əc)*; *grum.*

uu has been preserved (sometimes with shortening): *buur* (boor); *əncuuþ*; *cud* (could); *ruum* (room); *bruc* (brook).

óó has been preserved: *hóuv*; *əwóuc.*

óó has become *ə*: *əðer, məðer, dəþ, brəðər*; *gləv*; *mənþ, məndi, dən; fləd, bləd.*

For *əvn* and *shəvl* see notes to 1553 and 1556.

The series of changes is clearly *óó, uu, u, ə*; the second and third belonging to the Early Modern, the last to the Transition period. The anomalous spelling *other*, etc., instead of *oother*, was probably meant to indicate the shortness of the *u*=*óó*. To infer from it a Middle E. *òòðer* would be as unreasonable as in the case of *love, come*, etc., where the *u* was certainly never lengthened or lowered to *òò*.

Under the head of consonant influence the loss of the initial element of the diphthong *iuu* or *yuu* ought to have been noticed in its place. It takes place after *r* and *l*, but not after stops, nasals, and sibilants: *ruu, gruu, cruu ; fluu, cluu;* also in *chuu* (*lyuud* is an exception), *yuu; hyuu; þyuu; fyuu; nyuu; dyuu; styuu; spyuu.*

The development of the diphthong *óu* out of *ol* in the combination *olc* ought also to have been noticed; it occurs in two words: *yóuc* (yolk), *fóuc* (folk).

Also the change of *a* into *ò* before *lt*, in *holt, solt, molt.*

NOTES TO THE WORD LISTS.

No. 3. *eiht.* A solitary exception to the general change of *aht* into *auht.* There is Early Mod. evidence for *aiht* as well as *eiht.*

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[1] For the preservation of *èè* before *r* in *bèèr*, etc., see p. 68.

6. *fauht.* Salesbury writes *fauht,* and the spelling *fought* seems merely due to confusion with the partic. *fouhten* from O.E. *gefohten.*

15. *nāru,* etc. These words are not derived direct from the nom. *nearu,* but from the oblique cases, *nearwe* becoming *nearw,* whence *naru,* by weakening of the final *w.* *caru,* on the other hand, which has *care* in the oblique cases, naturally lengthens its vowel—*caar.*

25. *gèèr* from *gearwa* is only an apparent exception to the rule just stated, the long vowel being probably due to the *r.* The loss of the *w* is, however, anomalous.

58. *shæl,* for *shòòl.* An isolated exception to the development of *au* before *l.*

68. *ceallian.* This word occurs in the poem of Byrhtnoð; it may therefore possibly be English, although Norse influence in so late a work is quite possible.

71. *baal.* Exceptionally taken from the nom. *bealu,* not from the oblique *bealw-* (see note to 15, above).

81. *psalm.* The *p* is, of course, purely pedantic; the word may, however, be French.

84. *tælg.* The vowel is doubtful, and I have given the word again under *è* (992).

89, 91. *alder, alderman.* The exceptional retention of the *a* may be due to the liquid in the second syllable: compare the short *i* in *wunder,* etc., as contrasted with *wuund* (p. 47).

132. *castel.* This word, although of French origin, was in familiar use in English many years before the Conquest.

140. *hauc,* from *havoc* through *havec, haw(e)c.* The converse change has taken place in *waav* (1170); the series was probably *wǣg, waaw, waav.*

150. *clòòver.* The only parallel is *lòòd* from *hladan* (298).

168, 169. *monger, among.* The *u*-sound, for which there is Early Middle authority, as well as for *o,* is anomalous.

181. *eni.* The Early form (or one of them) was *ani* with short *a* (as Gill expressly states); the present form *eni* may therefore be explained as an irregular variation of the normal *æni.*

182. *hemp* seems to point to an O.E. *hænep* (cp. 187).

187, 193. *then, when.* These clearly arise from the Late O.E. *ðænne* and *whænne* with abnormal modification of *a* before nasals (p. 26).

229. *swæm* for *swòm.* *m* seems to bar the retention of *a* for *æ* in the same way in the word *dæmp* (p. 150).

246, 248. *slai, flai*, instead of *slau, flau.* The subs. *slège* may have helped the former irregularity.

253. *daun.* *dag(e)nian* ought to give *dain*, but the analogy of the regular Middle E. *dawes* from *dagas* helped.

270. *acorn.* The *o* is probably inorganic, the result of association with *corn.*

298. *lòòd.* cp. *clòòver* (150).

303. *shaad* for *sceadw-.* cp. *baal,* 71.

324. *water.* The Modern *wòòter,* with its long vowel, is anomalous.

331. *got,* inorganic, from the analogy of the partic. **begoten.*

343. *pebl,* from *pæpol* or *pæbol* (?).

344. *ai.* The modern form is a solitary case of retention of the diphthong.

350. *rein.* The older spelling *raindeer* should have been given.

352. The Middle *stèèc* and its change into the Modern *stéic* are both anomalous.

353. *weak* may possibly come from the O.E. *wāc,* through *wǣc.*

355. *dii,* from *dey(ja)* ; cp. *ii* for *ei* from *eāge* (1121).

357. *lā.* If the Modern *lòò* (written *law*) really corresponds to the O.E. *lā,* we have a second instance (besides *bròòd*) of the retention of *òò.* *treysta* (770) should have been referred to here.

372. *haal.* A solitary and dubious instance of the retention of O.E. *ā.*

389. *nothing.* The Modern *ə* is probably due to the analogy of *wən* (415) and *nən.*

396. *whòòz,* read *whóóz.* The Modern *uu* is better evidence than the spelling *whose.*

400. *þau,* points seemingly to an O.E. *þăwan.*

415. *wən.* The most probable explanation is that *wə* is

simply the Early Modern *óó* with its labial and guttural elements pronounced successively instead of simultaneously (p. 14).

418. *nən.* Not a case of *òò* becoming *ə* through *uu* and *u*, but simply due to the analogy of *wən.*

429. *clami.* The O.E. *ā* in this word must have been shortened at a very early period, else we should have had *clomi*.

440. *-hóód.* A solitary instance of *òò* becoming *óó* in Middle English (except after *w*).

447. *bròòd.* Retention of Middle English *òò* from *ā.*

491. *gild.* Exceptional retention of short *i.* cp. *gild* (from *gyldan*) and *byld* (760, 761).

518. *criist.* The *ch* is, of course, no evidence; but the word may be French. Compare, however, *lèèst* (126) and *yèèst* (520), with the same lengthening before *st.*

528. *teuzdai.* The spelling *ue* indicates the later simplification *yy.*

534. *wiivil.* It is uncertain whether the spelling *ee* indicates a Middle English *wéévil* or is purely phonetic.

604. *island.* The *s* is purely etymological and erroneous.

707. *rich.* May be French.

760, 761. *gild, byld.* Exceptional retention of the short vowels. There is, however, Early Middle authority for *byyld* as well.

796. *luck.* The word *lukka* in Icelandic is said to be of late introduction, otherwise it would fit in very well. I have formed *lycci* from the Danish *lykke.*

847. *þræsh* may be a modification of *þresh,* as *eni* seems to be of *æni* (181).

860. *iceberg.* Probably foreign (Dutch?).

868. *swurd*; or from *u* (1365).

870. *hèèrt* and *hart* are both independent modifications of *hèrt.*

881. *cwail.* Compare *hair* (1157) from *hǣr.* The history of these two spellings requires investigation: it is possible that the *ai* is merely a comparatively late representation of the sound *èè,* introduced after the simplification of the diphthong *ai* (p. 65).

934. *þaan* for *þain.* Here, again, the spelling may be late. The Modern *þéin* would correspond to either *þaan* or *þain.*

956. *nebb.* The vowel is more probably *è* (1087).

1005. *wasp* points rather to *wæsp* than *wèsp*; both forms may, however, have existed.

1017. *wǣng* (551) should come in here.

1036. *clenz.* The spelling *ea* certainly points to *clèènz*, but the Modern form is against it, and it is possible that the *ea* may be a purely etymological reminiscence.

1038. *handi* may be merely a late derivative of *hand.*

1052. *temz.* The spelling is evidently a pedantic adaptation of the Latin *T*(*h*)*amesis.*

1054. *au.* This form (instead of *ai*) is very anomalous. The most probable explanation is that *ège* was made into *æge* by the same confusion between the two vowels as in *wèsp* (1005), and that *æge* then became *age,* which was irregularly diphthongized into *au*(*e*).

1057. *hej* points rather to *hècg* than *hège,* which would give *hai.*

1058, 1060. *lai, sai.* These forms (instead of *lej, sej*) point rather to some such inflection as the imperative *lège, sège.*

1064. *aach.* Another case of confusion between *è* and *æ*—*ècc, æce, ace, aach.*

1105. *cnēla.* The Icelandic expression is *knéfalla,* but *knæle* is found in Danish.

1135. *read.* I have given the word again under *èè* (1218), as it is quite uncertain whether it had *ē* or *ǣ* in O.E.: the assumed derivation from *rōdjan* favours the former, the MSS. usage the latter.

1157. *hair.* cp. *cwail* (881).

1171. *weih,* etc. Anomalous retention of *gh* in the form of *h.*

1228. *ðòòuh.* The stages were probably *ðeaah, ðaah, ðòòh, ðòòuh.*

1239. *rau.* Apparently from an intermediate *hreăw*; cp. *þau* (400).

1241, 1242. *slòòu, shòòu.* The same dropping of the first element of O.E. *eaa,* as in the previous word. All these forms are important, as showing that the second element of the diphthong had the accent and was long.

1244. *strau.* cp. 1239.

1276. *chapman.* Points to a shortened *ea,* which naturally passed into *a.*

1292. *darling.* From shortened *eo* — *deōr-, deor-, der-, dar-ling.*

1295. *fourþ.* Probably formed directly from the Middle English *four* itself.

1306. *yuu.* Here the first element of the diphthong is consonantized, and the final *w* thrown off, as in *tréé, cnéé,* etc.

1333. *friend.* The Modern *frend* points to a very early shortened form, which probably co-existed with the older *fréénd.*

1353, 1363. *thorough, borough.* The Modern ə points to *þuruh* and *buruh,* and it is possible that the *o* is a mere graphic substitute for *u.*

1370. *shóulder* for *shaulder.* The most probable explanation is that *shuulder* became *shóulder* in the Early Modern period, and the *óu* became *óóu* before *ld,* and so was confounded with the *óóu* in *flóóu,* etc.

1380. *eleven.* Agrees rather with the other form *endleofon.*

1460. *cuuld.* The *l* is, of course, due to the analogy of *wuuld* and *shuuld.*

1470. *ruuh* may possibly come from *hreōh* (1288).

1484. *dauhter.* The anomalous *au* may be due to Norse influence, as Danish has *datter* (Icelandic *dóttir*): I do not know, however, that the Danish form is of any antiquity.

1519. *holu.* The final *h* of *holh* seems to have been first vocalized (and labialized), and then merged into *w,* which, as in *naru,* etc., was weakened into *u.*

1521. *swóuln,* etc. The development of *ou* in the combinations *ol, old,* is Early Modern, and should have been mentioned (p. 61). The phoneticians make the *o* long, writing *tooul* (=*toll*), etc. Its preservation in the present English is, therefore, quite regular, as in *flóu* from Middle E. *flóóu,* etc.

1530. *bóul.* Here, again, the sixteenth century authorities write *booul.* The spelling *bowl* is, of course, phonetic and unhistorical.

1533. *welcin.* cp. *wednesdai* (1694).

1540. *froþ*, etc. The quantity of *o* before *þ*, *s*, and *f* is very uncertain in the present English, but the longs seem to be getting the upper hand.

1553. *oven.* The Modern *əvn* points rather to *óóven* than the regular *òòven.*

1556. *shovel.* The Modern *shəvl*, again, points to an earlier *shuvl*, which may be a shortening of *shuuvel*=*shóóvel*, as was suggested in the case of *oven.* Or the form *shuvel* may be due to the analogy of the verb *shuv*=*scūfan.*

1667, 1670. *sleu*, *dreu.* The most probable explanation is that *slóóg* first became *slóóu*, and then this was confused with the numerous preterites in *eóów* (*greōw*, *cneōw*, etc.), and followed the same change into *eu.*

1694. *wednesday.* cp. *welcin* (1533).

ON THE PERIODS OF ENGLISH.

One of the most troublesome questions of English philology is that of the designation of its various stages. I have throughout this paper adopted the threefold division of Old, Middle, and Modern: it will, therefore, be necessary to say a few words in its justification.

The first question is, shall we retain the name "Anglo-Saxon" for the earliest period of our language, or discard it entirely? The great majority of English scholars are decidedly hostile to the word. They argue that it is a barbarous half-Latin compound, which, although justifiable as applied to a political confederation of Angles and Saxons, is entirely misleading when applied to the *language* spoken by these tribes, implying, as it does, that the English language before the Conquest was an actual mixture of the Anglian and Saxon dialects. The reverse was of course the case, and we consequently have to distinguish between the Anglian dialect of Anglo-Saxon and the Saxon dialect of Anglo-Saxon.[1] The most serious objection, however, to the word Anglo-Saxon is that it conceals the unbroken development of our language, and thrusts the oldest period of our language outside the pale of our sympathies. Hence, to a great extent, the slowness with which the study of our language makes its way among the great mass of educated people in England—if people can be called educated who are ignorant of the history of their own language.

These arguments have lately been vigorously attacked by a leading English philologist—Professor March. In his able essay[2] he brings out the distinctive features of the two extreme periods very forcibly, and has so far done good service. At the same time, he has greatly exaggerated the difference between the two periods. Thus, in phonology, he says that Anglo-Saxon had sounds now lost in English, such as French *u*, German *ch*, and initial *wl*, *wr*, and that *ī* and *ū* have become diphthongs. Now any one who has read this paper with any attention will see that this part of the argument is worth very little, for all these sounds were preserved unchanged in the sixteenth century, which belongs unmistakably to the Modern period.

The well-known statement that Johnson's Dictionary contains 29,000 Romance words out of 43,500 is a great exaggeration. A large proportion of these 29,000 are words which are never used in ordinary speech or writing, very many of them are quite unknown to the majority of educated people, and not a few of them never existed in the language at all. When we speak of the proportion of Romance elements in English, we mean the English of every-day life, not of dictionaries and technical works,[3] and of the two ex-

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[1] If any period of our language is to be called "Anglo-Saxon," let it be the present one—as far, at least, as the literary language is concerned, which is really a mixture of Saxon and Anglian forms.

[2] Is there an Anglo-Saxon Language? Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1872.

[3] On such one-sided grounds as these it would be easy to prove that Modern German is quite as mixed as English is. Observe the proportion of foreign and native words in the following passages, taken at random from a work published this year:

"Wieniawski, der Paganinispieler *par excellence*, zeigt sich da, wo er mit tremes, the estimate of Turner is certainly fairer than that of Thommerel.

The real distinction between the two stages lies, of course, in the comparatively uninflectional character of the present language and its analytical reconstruction. But the old inflections are not all lost; we still have our genitive, our plurals in *s* and *en*, and in our verbs the Teutonic strong preterite is still common. And it must be borne in mind that even the Oldest English inflections are beginning to break up. There is no *s* or *r* in the nominative singular, consequently no distinction between nominative and accusative in many words, no distinction whatever of gender in the plural of adjectives, or of person in the plural of verbs. The imperfect case terminations are already eked out by prepositions—*hē cwæð tō mē* is much more like English than Latin or even German.

And if we take the intermediate stages into consideration, we find it simply impossible to draw a definite line. Professor March acknowledges this, but takes refuge in a distinction between colloquial and literary speech, which last, he says, has much more definite periods. Professor March surely forgets that for scientific purposes artificial literary speech is worth nothing compared with that of every-day life, with its unconscious, unsophisticated development. It is, besides, very questionable whether there ever was an artificial literary prose language in England in early times.

While differing from Professor March on these points, I fully agree with him in protesting against the loose way in which "Old English" is made to designate any period from Alfred to Chaucer. It is quite clear that the inflectional stage of our language must have a distinctive name, and therefore that Old English must be reserved for it alone.

Schwierigkeiten und *Effecten à la* Paganini spielt, in seinem eigentlichen *Elemente;* seine *Compositionen* sind daher für *exclusive Virtuosen* nicht ohne *Interesse.* Dieselben wollen mit vollkommenster *technischer* Freiheit, übermüthiger Laune und Feuer gespielt sein, vor allen die *Variationen Opus* 11—echte *musikalische Mixpickles.*"

"Ein *effect*volles *Virtuosen*stück in Paganini'scher *Manier.*"

"Das kurze *Thema* ist mit *poetischer Simplicität* zu spielen."

Compare these specimens with the Lord's Prayer, or a page of Swift or Defoe.

The difficulty is with the later stages. The period I call Middle English is now often called "Early English," whil[illegible]l those who retain "Anglo-Saxon" call the intermediat[illegible] periods "Semi-Saxon" or "Old English," while others mak[illegible] various arbitrary distinctions between "Early," "Old," an[illegible] "Middle" English. It does not seem to be generally ac[illegible]knowledged that each of these terms really implies a definit[illegible] correlative, that if we call one period "Early," we are boun[illegible] to have a "Late" one, and that "Middle" implies a begin[illegible]ning and an end—to talk therefore of one period as "Early,[illegible]" as opposed to a "Middle" one, is entirely arbitrary.

Such divisions err also in being too minute. When we consider how one period merges into another, and how the language changed with much greater rapidity in the North than in the South, we see that it is necessary to start with a few broad divisions, not with impracticably minute ones.

I propose, therefore, to start with the three main divisions of *Old*, *Middle*, and *Modern*, based mainly on the inflectional characteristics of each stage. Old English is the period of *full* inflections (*nama, gifan, caru*), Middle English of *levelled* inflections (*naame, given, caare*), and Modern English of *lost* inflections (*naam, giv, caar*). We have besides two periods of *transition*, one in which *nama* and *name* exist side by side, and another in which final *e* is beginning to drop. The latter is of very little importance, the former, commonly called Semi-Saxon (a legitimate abbreviation of Semi-Anglo-Saxon), is characterized by many far-reaching changes. I propose, therefore to call the first the *Transition* period *par excellence*, distinguishing the two, when necessary, as first and second Transition, the more important one being generally called simply *Transition* or *Transition-English*.

Whenever minute divisions are wanted, *Early* and *Late* can be used—Early Old, Late Middle, Early Modern, etc. Still minuter distinctions can be made by employing *Earlie* *Earliest*, etc., till we fall back on the century or decade.

These divisions could also be applied to the different diale names. Thus *Old Anglian* would be equivalent to "Angli dialect of Old English," *Modern Saxon* would designate the Dorsetshire dialect, etc.

As regards the Northern dialects of the Middle period, they ought strictly to be classed as Modern, as they soon lost the final *e* entirely. But as they have all the other characteristics of the Middle period, it seems most convenient to take the dominant speech of Chaucer and Gower as our criterion.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

First of all I have a few words to say on the relation of the present essay to Mr. Ellis's great work.

As regards my obligations to Mr. Ellis, I can only say, once for all, that without his investigations this essay would never have been written. It is essentially based on his results, of which, in some places, it is little more than a summary; while I have throughout drawn largely on the enormous mass of material stored up in the "Early English Pronunciation."

In going over the same ground as Mr. Ellis, it is but natural that I should occasionally arrive at conclusions different from his, as, for instance, in the important question of the two *ee*s and *oo*s in Middle English, and in that of the preservation of short *y* in the Early Modern period.

But I have not been satisfied with merely summarizing and criticizing Mr. Ellis's views, but have also endeavoured to carry his method a step further, by combining his results with the deductions of the historical school inaugurated by Rask, and perfected by Grimm and his followers in Germany. Mr. Ellis's great achievement was to determine generally the phonetic values of the Roman alphabet in England at the different periods, and to establish the all-important principle that the Middle Age scribes wrote not by eye, but by ear, and consequently that their varying orthographic usage is a genuine criterion of their pronunciation. It has, therefore, been possible for me in the present essay to turn my attention more exclusively to the sounds themselves, and the wider generalizations obtainable from an examination of the various changes, which generalizations can again be applied to the elucidation and confirmation of the individual changes themselves. Many of the general principles stated at the beginning of the essay are, I believe, new and original; such, for instance, as the threefold divisions of sound-changes into organic, inorganic, and imitative, the sketch of the relations between sound and symbol (general alphabetics), the determination of the laws which govern the changes of short and long vowels in the Teutonic languages, etc.

I have also added to our stock of phonetic material, both by the observations on the pronunciation of Modern English and the living Teutonic languages, and also by the full lists of Old English words with their Middle and Modern equivalents, which afford a sound basis both for testing the views I have developed, and for carrying out further investigation.

It need hardly be said that the present essay is but a meagre sketch of what would be a really adequate history of English sounds. An investigation of every dialect and period, even if only on the meagre and imperfect scale here attempted, would fill many volumes. And yet till this is done, we cannot say that the foundations of a scientific English phonology are even laid. And it is only on such investigations that a satisfactory investigation of inflection and syntax can be based.

It was, therefore, absolutely necessary for me to limit my programme as much as possible. Hence the omission of any reference to our dialects, and the comparative neglect of the Middle period. Most of my results are obtained from a direct comparison with Old and Modern English: they are, therefore, to a certain extent, only tentative. In one point they are specially defective, namely as regards the deductions drawn from our present traditional orthography. Although this orthography is, on the whole, a very faithful representation of the pronunciation of the time when it settled into its present fixity, yet there are many of its details which urgently require a more minute examination. In short, we want a thorough investigation of the orthography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, based on an examination not only of printed works, but also of manuscripts of all kinds. Such an investigation would not fail to yield valuable results.

Of the very considerable labour entailed in the present work, a large portion was expended on the lists. These I at first intended merely to consist of a certain number of examples of each change, but it proved so difficult to draw any definite line of exclusion that I determined to make them as full as possible, excluding only obsolete and doubtful words. There are a large number of words which, although of undoubted Teutonic origin, cannot be assigned to any Old English parent. Again, many Old English words given in the dictionaries without any reference, merely on the authority of Lye and Somner, are of very dubious existence. Many of them I believe to be guesses, formed by analogy from purely Modern words, while others are clearly taken from Transition texts. These I have often omitted, especially when they did not seem to offer any new points of interest. I am fully conscious of the inconsistencies and errors I have fallen into in preparing these lists, but I believe they are inevitable in a first attempt of this kind. It would have been easy to give my work a false appearance of fullness and finish, by suppressing the lists altogether; but I preferred to give them out, imperfect as they are, and rely on the indulgence of those who are alone competent to judge my work—those, namely, who have been engaged in similar initiatory investigations.

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SERIES D.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE

DIALECT OF WEST SOMERSET.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
JANUARY 15TH, 1875.

BY

FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY, ESQ.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

(*From the Transactions of the Philological Society for* 1875–6, *pp.* 197–272.)

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THE

DIALECT OF WEST SOMERSET.

It is said that dialects are disappearing, that railways, telegraphs, machinery, and steam will soon sweep clean out of the land the last trace of Briton, Saxon, and Dane. This statement, though highly coloured, has much truth in it, if these traces are to be looked for only in distinct forms of speech, and in archaic words: but even in these respects, the practical effect of modern improvements and the advance of science are far less than it is usually believed by those who write about them, but whose acquaintance with the subject is confined for the most part to what others have written. This must necessarily be the case: practical information is hard to get, except by those who are actually living amongst the people and with whom they feel at home. The peasantry, who are the true repositories of verbal treasures, are shy, and not easily drawn out by any one they look upon as a *jin·l-mun.*[1] Any attempt from a stranger, or even the *paa·sn* (unless he mixes much with them), to extract information from a real native, is at once to cause Hodge to become like his namesake, and to effectually shut himself up in an impenetrable shell of company manners, and awkward mimicry of what he supposes to be *jïn·l-vŏaks wai ŏa spai·kin.*

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[1] All the dialectal words, which are printed in italics, are written in accordance with Mr. Alexander J. Ellis's Glossic system of spelling, which is explained in the Appendix, where also every vowel and diphthongal sound in the dialect is fully illustrated by classified lists of words preceded by remarks.

Now although a process of levelling may be going on, as respects quaint words and local idioms, which board schools in every parish will surely accelerate, yet I shall hope to show that this process is slow, and at present very far from complete. As regards pronunciation, intonation, and those finer shades of local peculiarity which mark divergences from the Queen's English almost more than the words used, I maintain that the changes are far slower than those which are constantly going on in what we call received English itself.

Many words are continually dropping into disuse, especially such as are of a technical character, belonging to trades, like those mentioned as extinct by Sir John Bowring in his paper on the Devonshire dialect (reprinted from the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, etc., without date); but even of these I may remark that burler and burling, pronounced *buur·dler, buur·dlin* (picking out all foreign substances from unfinished cloth with an instrument called a *buur·dlin-uy·ŭr*, burling iron), fuller, fulling mill, tucker, *tuuk·in mee·ŭlz* (mills for dressing woollen cloth), rack, rack-field (frames for stretching woollen cloth while being dried, so as to make it even in width; these frames are attached to posts in the ground; every woollen mill has its rack-field), linhay (a shed, lean-to), estemane (a fine kind of woollen serge), soce, pronounced *soa·ŭs* (companions, mates, fellow-workmen; *kau·m soa·ŭs* is a very common expression used either by a farmer to his men, or by one man to his fellows), *sùe·ŭnt* (regular, even, smooth: *a sùe·ŭnt pee·s ŏa klaa·th,* "a smooth even piece of cloth," *a sùe·ŭnt fee·ŭl ŏa wai·t,* "a regular field of wheat," *i.e.* free from patches or inequalities, are both very common phrases), and *skoa·vĕe* (the exact opposite of *sùe·ŭnt*), are all perfectly familiar to me as in daily use at the present moment. While as to the others enumerated by him, duroy, worley, lindsey, serafine, bayeton, they are but the names of fabrics no longer manufactured, yet remembered still, along with camlets, ginghams, and nankeens. Sir John's failure to discover them only proves the difficulty to which I before alluded. A stranger as he must have been after fifty years' absence, must fail in trying to penetrate below the surface of peasants' talk.

At the same time that words of this kind are becoming forgotten, others of a like nature are continually taking their places, not merely in the vocabulary of the people, but, from the manner in which they are uttered, they become new links in the chain of that hereditary pronunciation which has come down to us West-country folks, and which connects us with the times when our British forefathers were elbowed back by the prolific Saxon, and lorded over by the proud Norman.

We in our benighted regions have now *raa·ylroa·ŭds*, *tuul·igraamz*, and *traak·shun ee·njinz*, bringing with them new ideas and enlarged knowledge; but we do not find that the *au·p kuun·trĕe maĭ·n* who come with them are in sufficient number to make any impression upon local pronunciation; and we find, too, that the words which they import into the district are adopted as words, but with more or less different sounds attached to them; and I have no doubt but that similar results attend the importation of words into all other districts.

Speaking from my own experience, I have often been amused at the very marked provincialisms in the pronunciation of educated men and women in the Northern and Midland Counties, whose tones in conversation and whose mode of expression, because diverging in an opposite direction, sound to my southern ears more exaggerated from contrast than they would to a born Londoner. For instance, the *koo·m* of a Lancashire man is not so far from *kum* "come," as it is from our *kau·m*.

The particular dialect, or sub-dialect, upon which I trust I may be able to throw some light, is, if one may judge from the mistakes of some, and the cursory remarks of others who have written upon Somersetshire, very little known, and it appears to have received far less attention than most others. Punch's typical clown always talks what is meant for *Zuum·urzetzhee·r,* and there are glossaries and poetic effusions in abundance written in the Saxon of the county, yet they all belong to the Eastern division, while the far richer vocabulary and more expressive speech of the Western is passed over with the remark set against a few stray words in the glossaries "pronounced so-and-so west of the Parret," thus leaving it to be inferred that, with the few exceptions alluded to, and a slight difference noticed here and there in the sounds of *oo*, the dialects are identical: but this is a great mistake.

In the same way it has been assumed as a fact in all the works on the subject with which I am acquainted, that the boundary dividing the people who utter these slightly different sounds is the river Parret, and one learned gentleman quotes as a proof of this, a record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of A.D. 658, how in a certain battle, the Britons were driven back as far as the river Parret. My obtuseness, however, fails to comprehend how the record of a battle written more than 1200 years ago can establish the fact that down to this time there has been no other driving back, and that the traces of those old Britons still remain in the speech of their descendants up to the brink of that river, but no further.

I admit that there is a tolerably defined boundary on the east side of the district known as West Somerset, but so far as language is concerned, it is not the Parret.

If we take the Ordnance map of the county, we find the ridge of the Quantocks, a high bleak moorland, running nearly south from the Bristol Channel. We also find a sharp spur of the Blackdowns called Pickeridge Hill running northward as far as the village of Thurlbeer (pronounced *Dil·buru*). This hill, jutting out to meet the Quantocks, contracts the great Somerset flat into a narrow neck, and in the centre of the valley between these hills, just at its narrowest part, and precisely where a modern engineer would place a defensive stronghold, we find the Saxon fortress of Taunton, to us known as *Taa·ntn* or *Taa·nun.* The people of the little village of Ruishton (called *Ruy·shn*), only a mile and a half to the east of Taunton, speak the eastern dialect; while at Bishops Hull, one mile to the west, they speak the western.

The Quantocks are in fact, what we should expect them to be, the natural boundary of the district, and Taunton is the military position which protected the lowlanders of the plain and marshes from the highlanders of the western hill country.

On the south and south-west there is much shading off in the mode of speech, and it is difficult to point out any sharply defined line; but westward, taking in a portion of Devonshire, it follows pretty nearly the boundary of the counties as marked on the map, and includes most of the wild and beautiful Exmoor district, as well as the Brendon Hill range.

In many respects the dialect of North Devon is the same as ours, and it much more nearly resembles it than the East Somerset does, but there are however many marked differences. One of the most striking is that in Devon they use *us* as a nominative, while in Somerset we do not. Again they use the old inflexion *th* more than we do; they would say, *u goo·ŭth, u tau·keth,* "he goes," "he talks;" we should say, *ai du goo, ai du tau·kĕe,* "he do go," "he do talk."

In noting the peculiarities of my native patois, I have taken no pains to ascertain how far it shares them with other districts, or in what respects it differs from them; but leaving comparisons and deductions to your more competent hands, I simply place before you such facts as are within my own personal knowledge, and every one of which I am ready to substantiate by the test of a practical illustration out of the mouth of some veritable plough-tail native.

Authorities upon the subject there are none, so far as I know; and therefore, in preparing this paper, I have adopted no other standard than to note whatever seems to me important in the speech of the people as a divergence from received English. I must here, however, acknowledge the assistance, in the way of suggestion, I have found in the two papers read before our local Archæological Society by my distinguished friend and fellow-countryman, Professor Spencer Baynes, of

St. Andrews. But even in his papers there are many assertions and examples which he would, I am sure, admit to need "quantification," if tested in the practical way I have mentioned. Valuable as his papers are upon the general dialect of the Western Counties, Mr. Baynes has omitted all notice of the strange differences which occur in the pronunciation of the same combinations of letters. For instance, he classes *hay*, *May*, *day*, and *say* as all of the same sound; whereas in West Somerset we should *Zai, dhat dhu laa·s Dhuuz·dĕe in Maa·y aa·y wuz u foo·ŭs tu laef oa·f haa·y mak·in, vur tu goo vur tu paa·y mĕe rai·nt*, "Say, that the last Thursday in May I was forced to leave off haymaking, for to go for to pay my rent." Surely these different soundings are not arbitrary, or even chance results; but they must point to some influence, which is to be looked for in the origin of the word itself, or rather in the speech of those people from whom it came to us.

The Norman has not left very many signs of his presence among us; yet in a district where we have the villages of Huish Champflower, Langford Budville, Hatch Beauchamp, and Thorne Falcon, we may fairly ascribe to him any peculiarity in the pronunciation of those words which must have been daily used by him and are now adopted by us. How otherwise is it to be accounted for that we always give the difference in sound which I have instanced, *zai*, *dai*, *paa·y*, *Maa·y*? But I shall have occasion to allude to this further on. These and similar varieties of sound seem to make our dialect incapable of being reduced to anything like rule or order, that is, as measured by received pronunciation; for the same combination of letters still oftener represents several distinct sounds in West Somerset than it does even in ordinary English.

The patois is essentially one of vowel-sounds, connected by indistinct consonants; for we get rid of these or reduce them to faint breathings whenever we can.

I propose to take the vowels in the order of the old grammars. In village schools they are called *ae·ŭ*, *ai*, *aai*, *oa*, *yùe*. We have both the open *a* and the close *a*, and a sort of semiopen sound as in *bae·ŭkn,* or the invariable infant school spelling of "Aaron," *guurt ae·ŭ, lee·dl ae·ŭ, aar, oa, ai·n.* The various sounds of *a* are represented in the following sentences:—*Aa·y aa·nt ŭ-vuw·n dhu paa·th,* "I have not found the path;" *Ai wid·n saa·r ìz wae·ŭjez, ŭ-peol·in dhai tuur·muts vur zik·spuns u bai·g,* "He would not earn his wages, pulling those turnips for sixpence a bag;" *Dhu aa·tur-maa·th wuz tùe geo·d vur tu lat uwt dhik·i vaa·th ŏa pai·gz een un,* "The aftermath was too good for to let out that litter of pigs in it." Or there is still more variety in the following: *Uur zad tu mee u Zin·dĕe aa·turneo·n jis ubuw·d u dree ŏa klauk, Aa-l tuul·ĕe haut tai·z, Aa·y bai·ŭnt gwaa·yn aun lig dhis yur noa lau·nggur; vaur ee aa·nt ŭbin· unee·ŭs mee vaur vaaw·ŭr yuur kau·m dhu tuym, un dhad·l bee dree wiks ŭvoa·ŭr Baa·nun vai·ŭr; Aa·y muyn uw dhu ween daed bloa·ĕe fìt tu bloa duwn dh)oa·l uwz*: "She said to me on Sunday afternoon, just about three o'clock, I'll tell you what it is, I am not going on like this any longer; for he has not been near me for four years come the time, and that will be three weeks before Bampton fair; I remember how the wind blew fit to blow down the old house." The prefix *ŭ* in *ŭbin·* is used almost invariably with all participles, both past and present.

Our *e* is often very like the French *é*, and in diphthongs with *a* is often so pronounced when the vowels are not sounded separately, as in seat, meat, or eat. *Dhu chìl·urn ad·n ugoa·ŭt u beet ŏa mai·t vur ai·t, nur eet· nuudh·ur sai·t vur tu zit duwn paun,* "The children had not a bit of meat to eat, nor yet any seat to sit down upon."

The letter *e*, though called *ai*, is sometimes pronounced as *ee* long when followed by *a*; for instance, *nee·ŭr,* "near," *fee·ŭr* "fear," *bee·ŭt* "beat," *bee·ŭs* "beast." You will note that these are distinctly vowel fractures.

For the diphthong *ea* as written in common English we have at least six distinct sounds: *mai·t, ai·t, sai·t,* as before given; *dae·ŭl* (deal), *rae·ŭl* (real), *mae·ŭl* (meal), *ae·ŭth* (earth), *mizh·ur* (measure), *jil·is* (jealous), *mid·u* (meadow). For heat we say *yaet*; and for both heath and hearth we say *yee·ŭth,* but to this last I must refer again. Hear, year, here, and ear, have with us but one sound—*yuur.*

The commonest of these sounds is of course that which follows, if I may so express it, the genius of the dialect—that is, to separate vowels, and sound them all, as in *bee·ŭs* (beast), *klee·ŭn* (clean), *dee·ŭr* (dear), *mee·ŭd* (mead), *wae·ŭl* (weal). You will have noticed that in these double sounds the *e* is sometimes *ee* and sometimes *ae.* Mr. Baynes is mistaken in classing cart, card, heart, meat, and milk, among these fractures, although *kee·ŭr* (care), *kee·ŭz* (case), *shee·ŭd* (shade), and *shee·ŭr* (share), may well be so included. No other rule than that of placing every word with the diphthong *ea* in it as an exception seems possible. But here again Etymology may well be served by a study of these exceptions; for without doubt they are true key-notes of the archaic stave.

E short before *n* becomes long, as in *ai·n* (hen), *pai·n* (pen, for writing only), *tai·n* (ten), *mai·n* (men), *wai·n* (when). Before *l* it becomes short *uu,* as in *wuul* (well), *tuul* (tell), *zuul* (self), *vuul* (fell): but to sell becomes *zil.*

The substantive *vuul* (vell) means a portion of the internal economy of a calf, from which rennet is made. To *vuul* (fell) is a particular kind of sewing; but we *droa* (throw) our trees, we never fell them.

Funnily this change of *e* into *u* is often reflected back. I heard a man sing a song the other day, of which the refrain was *drai·v dael kee·ŭr u-wai·,* "drive dull care away." Servants and ill-educated people always say *vaelgur* (vulgar) and *mael·tichùe·d* (multitude).

We settle all doubts as to the *ei* in *ee·dhur* (either), and *nuy·dhur* (neither), for we should say, *Az a-zeed· uudh·ur wau·n ŏa m?* *Nao·ŭ, nuudh·ur wau·n waud·n dhae·ŭr,* "Hast seen either one of them? No, neither one of them was there."

Double *e* again has two or three different sounds: *Aa·y zeed un zoa geo·d zee·ŭd laa·s wik,* "I saw him sow good seed last week." Or the old couplet:

Wau·n yuur zidi·n, "One year's seeding,
Zab·m yuurz wid·in. Seven years' weeding."

This change of *e* into short *i* naturally leads to the distinction between *Zin·dĕez an wik·ud dai·z*, "Sundays and wicked (week) days."

Our *i* is often like the French *i* [ee]: *Gee mee u lee·dl beet, wùol-ĕe?* "Give me a little bit, will you?" And from this example you will also observe that the short *i* has a tendency, like short *e*, to become short *u*, or rather short *oo* or *uo*, as in wool. Endless mistakes occur on our local railway between tickets taken for Williton and Wellington, which we pronounce *Wuol·itn* and *Wuul·itn* respectively, niceties which only native booking clerks can easily recognize. Short *i* changes sometimes into *aa*; we say, *tak dhu baa·tl an aa·t un duwn*, "take the bittle and hit it down." This word *baa·tl* is a sample of a double change. The word in Shakespeare (Henry IV. Act 1, Sc. ii.) is beetle. And this is no doubt still the correct word; but being, like the insect beetle, pronounced *bitl*, it is changed, by the same process as hit in *aat*, into *baa·tl*. Sometimes however it is pronounced *buy·tl*. Again, to spit is always to *spaa·t*. *Aa·y bee dhat draa·y aa·y keod·n spaa·t u zik·spuns*, "I am so dry I could not spit a sixpence," is the usual, but not elegant plea for begging a cup of cider.

Long *i* sometimes changes into long *a*: drive is always *drai·v*, and knife is often *nai·v*. The personal pronoun is sounded *u·y* in East Somerset, but *aa·y* in West. They too habitually use it in the accusative, we scarcely ever do so. They would say, *hee akst u·y vu·yv shil·unz*; we should say, *hee aaks mee vai·v shuul·inz, buud Aa·y wid·n gee un bud vaaw·ŭr*, "he asked me five shillings, but I would not give him but four."

In this example you will notice short *i* used for *ou* in would (*wid·n*). Again, it is also used for short *o*, as *he wau·dn nit aa·yt pae·ŭzez awai vraum un*, "he was not eight paces away from him." Double negatives are the rule, and even treble ones occur sometimes. Again, the proper name Will is sounded quite differently to the auxiliary: *Aaw·r Wee·ŭl wuz u teok dhat bai·ŭd, wee wuz u foo·ŭs tu zai·n vur dhu dau·ktur; ee kau·m aal uwt oa·vur Buur·nun Ee·ŭl un geed un suum pee·ŭlz, un Aa·y kyuwnt ee·ŭl mak uwt u guurt lau·ng *bee·ŭl vaur ut*, "Our Will was taken so ill, we were obliged to send for the doctor; he came all out over Brendon Hill and gave him some pills, and I expect he will make out a great long bill for it."

O has many sounds, as *ùe toa·ŭld-ĕe ŏa ut?* "Who told you of it?" *Dùe-ĕe kau·m alau·ng un nit buyd ubuw·d dhai dhae·ŭr kontraap·shunz*, "Do (ye) come along, and not stay about those contrivances." *O* long is much closer, as *a* is much opener with us than in East Somerset. There they say *au·ver, au·ld, tau·ld, aks, pa·th, va·st;* we say *oa·vur* (over), *oa·l* (old), *toa·l* (told), *aak·s* (ask), *paa·th* (path), *vaa·s* (fast); but still we too give *o*, though rarely, the sound of *au*, as in *hrau·d* (road), *krau·s* (cross), *lau·s* (loss), *tau·s* (toss). It far more frequently however has a fractured sound, as *hroa·ŭd* (road), *hroo·ŭp* (rope), *boo·ŭth* (both), *uvoa·ŭr* (before). On the other hand, we often change *o* short into *aa: Dhee staap aur aal ai·n u klaat dhad·l mak dhee draap*, "Thee stop or I'll throw a clod that will make thee drop." So we say *gyuur·dn plaat* (garden plot).

Both long and short *o* change unto *uu* short. We say *ruub* for rob, *juub* for job, *uud* for hod, and always *muuv* for move—and why not, if it is correct to say *luuv* (love)? Double *o* is deservedly famous; but, as will be seen presently, it has more than one sound. *Wau·t u veol· dhik·i keok ai·z! dh-ŏal geok·eo-v ulaef· ur beok un ur beot·s duwn in uun·dur dhu peok ŏa aa·y*, "What a fool that cook is! the old cuckoo has left her book and her boots under the hay-cock." Or the old couplet said to have been droned out in church by a parish clerk, who had been playing cards late on a Saturday night—

Hoa·ks bee truum·ps in Au·rnur eo·d,
Dhae·ŭr dhai groa·ŭd un dhae·ŭr dhai steo·d.

"Oaks are trumps in Horner wood,
There they grew, and there they stood."

You will notice that we know nothing of grew, and although I may have very imperfectly rendered it, there is a slight distinction between these sounds of *oo* and those of *dùe* (do) and *ùe* (who). These latter occur, again, in our vernacular *bùe*, and this word, you will admit, when allowance is made for the common change of *v* into *b*, is far more like its ancestor than the modern nondescript—view. A man, now dead, who used frequently to come to my house, always used to exclaim: *Aa·y zìm, zuur, tai·z u bìt·ipeol bùe yuur*, "I fancy, sir, 'tis a beautiful view here." With us to roof a rick, is to *ruuv·m-een·* or *ruuv·m aewt*, that is, roof it in, or roof it out. This means to pile up the hay or corn in a ridge, so as to form slopes, on which to lay the thatch—and in no way implies the thatch itself. Similarly *tu ruuv u uwz* (to roof a house) is to set up the timber slopes, but has no reference to the final covering; this latter is always the *tuy·l·ĕen* (tiling) or the *dhaach*. I have scarcely ever heard the word roof used as a substantive by a true son of the soil. For hoof we say *uuf*, and though wool is generally *eo·ŭl*, yet I have very often heard *wuul*. The word *eo·d* (wood) is peculiar, the *w* is always dropped, and except in the sense of a collection of large trees, it has but one signification. If I went to market, and said I wanted to buy some *èo·d*, I should be told the price per score or hundred, always six score, and nothing would be understood but faggots, called *faak·uts*. Chairs, tables, and doors are made of *tìm·ur* (timber); but we never hear of anything wooden. If *tìm·ur* is not the word used, the particular sort of wood is mentioned, as *aa·rshn, oa·kn, bich·n, hau·lsn* (hazel). If I may here digress a little, I would remark that if I told a man to fetch *u beet ŏa stuuf* (a bit of stuff), he would probably ask if I wanted *u beet ŏa ruuf stuuf* or *wau·t soa·ŭrt* (what sort); but no vision of woven fabric would enter his mind. *Stuuf* means "sawn wood," and the *geo·d* (good) or *ruuf* (rough) would express the quality and shape, that is, whether sawn square, or, as the outsides of logs are, *wae·ŭni*. A piece with us means a part or portion of anything, whether solid or liquid. A hogshead partly full of cider would be *a pĕes ŏa-u ok·sĕed* (a piece of a hogshead); a small quantity of potatoes, say seventy or eighty pounds, would be *a pĕes ŏa-u bai·g* (a piece of a bag, a bag of potatoes being 160 pounds, or *aa·yt skoa·ŭr wauy·t* eight score weight); a heap of stones would be *uun·ĕe u pĕes ŏa-u loo·ŭd* (only a piece of a load). A piece of cloth means the entire end or length, as woven; any portion cut off would be a *beet ŏa klaa·th* (a bit of cloth).

A floor, unless we spoke of a *baa·rnz vloo·ŭr* (barn's floor), means anything but a boarded structure. When we wish to speak of the wooden floor of a room, we always speak of the *plan·shĕen*, and of a single board in a floor as a *plansh.* Another pretty plain Norman or French influence is seen in the pronunciation, as well as the use of the words *akùe·z* (accuse) and *sekeo·ŭr* (secure). A short time ago a man was speaking to me about the funeral of a woman whom I had well known. He said, *avoa·ŭr uur duyd, uur ukùe·z aul dhai uur weesh vur tu kaa·r ur,* "before she died, she accused all those she wished to carry her," meaning that she had appointed and fixed upon those of her neighbours whom she desired to bear her corpse. Since writing this paper, I have again heard the word used in the sense of advertising or informing beforehand: *ee akùe·zd um ŏa-ut un zoa dhai wuz upurpae·ŭrd,* "he accused them of it, and so they were prepared." Again, the beard or needle-like spears which grow on barley, when broken off in thrashing, are called *aa·ylz* or barley *aa·ylz,* which is however Anglo-Saxon, according to Wright. I venture, however, to commend these words to the attention of Norman students, together with *kwaa·yn, maa·yn* and *ruwt,* to which I shall refer presently.

U may be called our test vowel. If a man can say *bĕol*[1] (bull), *vĕol* (full), *pĕol* (pull and pool), he is surely either from West Somerset or North Devon; but yet we say *kuul* (cull), *guul* (gull), *guut, puut, cuut,* but not *ruut*; we are more correct, we say *ruwt.* Sometimes short *u* becomes *i—vraanch nits* (French nuts); the *nit* of a wheel is the stock or nave.

Notwithstanding its extreme richness in vowel-sounds, it is in its consonants that our dialect shows its great vagaries, and although highly grammatical in its inflexions and construction, it is apparently quite chaotic and arbitrary in pronunciation. We do not like to marry our consonants any more than our vowels,—that is, although we can manage initials even three deep, as in *skraam* (small), *straa·yn*, *splai·-veot·ed* (splay-footed), yet whenever two final consonants occur, we try to reduce them to a simple sound. To a stranger the characteristic of our dialect is indistinctness of articulation—possibly the result of general slovenliness of utterance induced by a mild and slightly enervating climate; but rather I believe this to be the result of hereditary modes of speech derived from our remote ancestors, whomsoever they may have been.

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[1] See Appendix, page 53.

We usually reject final *d* or *t* when following a consonant other than *r*, as in *ween* (wind), *huyn* (hind), *buyn* (bind), *vuyn* (find), *vee·ŭl* (field), *paa·s* (past), *vaa·s* (fast), *pau·s* (post). To this there are, however, many exceptions (see Appendix). When the inflexion is sounded, the full syllable is always given, as *ee paa·sud lau·ng dhik wai*, "he passed along that way;" *ur leok·ud vau·rn*, "she looked for him;" but this is not usual, the inflexion is commonly dropped. A man said to me the other day, *Dhee·ŭz lau·t ŏa hree·ŭdz aa·l an·draash·*, "This lot of reed is all hand thrashed;" *Aa·y waa·rsh dhu fae·ŭs ŏa un aal oa·vur aes mau·rnin wai zoo·ŭp un wau·dur*, "I washed his face all over this morning with soap and water;" *Aa·y-v ubee·ŭsl mizuul· tuur·bl bae·ŭd*, "I have made myself very dirty." When, however, the next syllable commences with a vowel, the *d* or *t*, whether an inflexion or not, is sounded as its initial: *ee uurnd uwai·*, "he ran away." Change the vowel to a consonant, and we should say, *ee uurn zu vaa·s uz thau·f dh-oa·l fuul·ur wuz aa·turn*, "he ran as fast as though the old fellow was after him." *Dhai·v urab· dhu maa·yl koo·ŭch*, "They have robbed the mail coach." *Dhai·v ustoa·ŭld u wau·ch*, "They have stolen a watch." This last is a good example of the strong conjugation being supplemented by the suffix of the weak. We have it again in *toa·ŭrd* (tore), *uroa·ŭzd* (raised), and in *broa·kt* (broke), when followed by a vowel. Now, although we may call it a rule absolute that *d* final following a consonant is dropped, yet this is clearly from no dislike to the sound itself; for we find it sometimes inserted without any apparent reason. The word corner, after politely dropping the *r*, becomes by this process *kau·ndur*; and tailor is always *taa·yldur.* Here I must explain that the *kaun·dur ŏa dhu uws* (corner of the house), means the interior angle of the living room. If we wished to express the external angle of the house or wall, we should always speak of the *kwaa·yn, kwauy·n* or *kwai·n.* The exceptions to the rule of dropping the final *d* and *t*, besides those mentioned, are when they happen to follow *r* or *l.* We always say *paa·rt* (part), *kaa·rt* (cart), *aa·rd*, (hard), *vaa·ld* (fell). *Aas ugoa·ŭt oa·ŭrt tu dringk?* "Hast aught to drink?" *Aa·y aa·nt ugoa·ŭt noa·ŭrt* "I have naught." Again, whenever *r* and *l* come together, as in twirl, girl, purl, burl, we find the sound too complex for our organs, and therefore provide another syllable by inserting a *d*, and say *twuur·dl, puur·dl, guur·dl, buur·dl*; while *wuur·dl* for world, which is a mere transposition, is one of our commonest words. *Uurz u puur·ti lee·dl guur·dl,* "She is a pretty little girl."

Initial and medial *th* are nearly always softened into *dh.* I can only remember one or two instances of hard initial *th.* For though we say *thau·f,* but this is sometimes softened into *au·f. Dhu lai·ŭn wuz au·l tùe u sluur·ĕe, un twuz dhat luuv·in, jis dhu vuur·i sai·ŭmz au·f twuz buurd luym,* "The lane was very muddy, and it was as sticky as bird lime." For thin we say *theen,* for off we always say *oa·f. Dhu loa·ks u-spwuuyl, dhee muus tak un oa·f,* "The lock is spoilt, thou must take it off."

Although much has been said and written about it, yet our *f*s are not all *v*s. Our decided preference of course is for the softer sound; yet we always say *fuun, faa·rmur, faat, Fan·i. Dhik·i loav ŏa bra·idz maa·yn tu·f,* "That loaf of bread is very tough." Also we say *puuf, ruuf,* and *laa·f* for lath, with many more. Of course we say *wuyv* (wife), *kyaa·v* (calf), *haa·v* (half), *vaur·ed* (forehead), *van* (fan), *vaar* (far), and *veo·t* (foot). This last word as a measure of length has no plural form. We always say *aa·yt-veot dee·p*; but we talk nevertheless of our *veet un ligz* (feet and legs). In these respects polite society is now following our lead.

A curious instance of interchange of letters, or rather sounds, arises in the word carpenter. We sound, or rather do not sound, the *r* according to polite custom, and thus should have *kaa·pentur;* but *kaa·fmdur* is the word we use, thus softening both the *p* into *f*, the *n* into *m*, and the *t* into *d*. *F* or *v* and *dh* or *th* seem to be interchangeable sounds. Vetches become *dhaach·es*, and very *dhuur·i*, while think, though generally *dhingk*, is often *fink*; and something, *suuf·in*.

G final is always dropped in words of more than one syllable ending in *ing*. As an initial it is softened as much as possible. *Iz dhu gee·ŭt oa·p?* "Is the gate open?" *Wau·ts yur gee·ŭm?* "What is your game?" Nothing is more grating to our ears than the *sing·gingg, long·gingg*, of our Northern acquaintances. In monosyllables, however, like *dhing* (thing), *vling* (fling), *dring* (to press), *sting*, *spring*, etc., we sound the *ng* distinctly.

All gutturals, especially final ones, are distasteful, and we very rarely leave one ungarnished at the end of a word. My father once heard a witness at *Taa·nun Suy·zez* (Taunton Assizes), in reply to the usual question as to his name, say: *Plai·z, zuur, muy nae·ŭmz Strik; buud tu spai·k ut shau·rt, tai·z Strik·ĕen*, "Please, sir, my name is Strick; but to speak it shortly, it is Strick*een*." When the *k* sound is followed by a syllable beginning with *n*, we give the latter a syllable to itself; hackney and cockney become *aak·n-nee* and *kauk·n-nĕe*.

Our dislike of gutturals is well balanced by our fondness for liquids, of course I mean *l*, *m*, and *n*: yet we cannot do with them mixed. We never say elm, helm, haulm, culm, calm, or qualm, but *huul·m* for the first three, *kuul·m*, *kaal·m*, and *kwal·um*. The town of Collumpton on the river Culme is, I presume, Culme-town. This place, however, is now locally pronounced *Kuul·up-m*—another curious case of elision and change. The *m* and the *t* have entirely disappeared, while the final *n* becomes *m*. This *n* nearly always changes into *m* after *p*, *b*, *f*, and *v*, as *faaw·rpmĕe* (fourpennny), *ae·ŭpmĕe* (halfpenny), *aeb·m* (heaven), *laeb·m* (eleven), *zaeb·m* (seven), *staef·m* (stiffen), *kaa·fmdur* (carpenter), *oa·vm* (oven), *woa·vm* (woven). A faint sound of *m* in common speech is all that remains of *am* or *them*: *aa·l ŏa m* means all of them, and *yeo m* or *dhai m* means you or they are.

N is articulated rather more distinctly than *m*, except when joined to *r*; it is then sometimes dropped, as *wes·tur zuyd* (western side), *eest·ureen*. This last does not signify Easter eve, but the eastern end, just as to *stan un ee·n* means to stand on your head—a phrase used by boys very commonly. Also *au·pm ee·n* means upright, on end. We never say, as they do in East Somerset, *his·n* or *dhai·rn* or *aaw·rn*; but we do say *vau·rn* for for him, and this *n* does duty for a neuter as well as a masculine pronoun. *Tid·n*, *twau·dn*, mean it is not, it was not; *aa·rtn* "art thou not?" *shat·n* "shalt thou not?" *wùot·n* "wilt thou not?" *kas·n* "canst thou not?" So also we rarely use the ordinary possessive pronouns. *Leok· tu dhu shùe·z ŏa un, wuy ee·v u kik aewt dhu toa·ŭrz ŏa m*, "Look at your shoes, why you have kicked out their toes." *Tae·ŭk aup u gin·i pai·g bee dhu taa·yl ŏa un, un dhu uyz ŏa un ul vaa·l aewt*, is our version of the old saying: "Take up a Guinea pig by its tail, and its eyes will drop out." From these and other examples it will be noticed that our possessive case is nearly always formed by the preposition; we very seldom use the ordinary *'s*. We have, too, no neuter pronoun for denoting a common substantive. The word *it* is never used, except an abstract idea is to be expressed. We should say *tai·z* for " it is," and *aa·y oa·n dùe ut*, " I won't do it," but never give it me, always *gee un tu mee*. The nominative *ai* (he) does duty for both genders. A man said to me of his daughter, *Urz a maa·yn guurt strau·ng maa·yd, ai ai·z*, "She's a main great strong maid, she is." With us the word maid has precisely the same meaning as its equivalent mädchen.

And here I may as well give you our present tense of the verb "to be."

aa·y bee (I am),
dhee aa·rt (never *bist*) (thou art),
ai·z }
uurz } or emphatic *ai ai·z*, *ur ai·z* (he or she is),
wee bee, or *wee m*, *wee haam·* (emphatic) (we are),

yùe bee, or *yùe m*, *yùe haam·* (emphatic) (you are),
dhai bee, or *dhaim*, *dhai aam·* (emphatic unaspirated) (they
are).

Just as the pronoun *ai* (he) is both masculine and feminine, so when the verb is used interrogatively is the pronoun *ur*: *did·n uur? id·n uur?* means either did she not? or is she not? did he not? or is he not? It also has an impersonal meaning, as *kaan· ur?* can one not? *mid·n ur?* might one not? *ad·n ur?* had one not? *Dids zee Bee ŭl? ad·n ur goa·ŭt noa·ŭrt tùe aez baak? wae·ŭr·oev·ur aav uur ubin· ubuy·din tùe?* "Didst see Bill? had not he anything on his back? wherever has he been staying?" Before this you will have observed that we only use aspirates before vowels for emphasis.

But to return to the consonants. *R* is the most capricious of all, for it is dropped here and affixed there without much apparent reason; yet of all the consonants, one rule may be invariably applied to it—we never roll or trill it.[1] In South Devon and Cornwall, on the contrary, they always talk of *her'·ingz*, and a common name is *Buur'·ij*; we say *uur·inz* and *Buur·ij*. Often we hear the *r* aspirated, as in *hreed* for reed, *hroa·ŭd* (road), while to read is *tu hrai·d*.

Before short vowels it is that the well-known transposition of *r* takes place: *Uur·chut, uurn un buursh dhu uurd·in oa·f ŏa Mis·tur Buur·jez buur·chez*, "Richard, run and brush off the redding from Mr. Bridge's breeches."

The danger of a little knowledge is shown in the almost general naming of the well-known equipage the tea-urn, *dhu tai ruun*. My good mother once tried to prevail on a nurse to use the proper term; but it was no use. Nurse persisted that she never said *uurn* in her life, and was not going to begin now. There is a large factory near where I live, called Tonedale. Certain wise people have learnt that a *dae·ŭl tae·ŭbl* should be called a *dee·l tai·bl*, and apply their rule to the factory, which thus becomes *Toa·ndeel.* But all this will be cured in the coming generation, by the board schools, where, forsooth, *Dhai·v ubin·, zuur, un utai·ch muy bwuuy vur tu spuul tae·ŭdĕez*[1] *wai u pee, shoa·ŭr!* "They have been, sir, and taught my boy to spell potatoes with a p, sure!

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[1] The exact nature of this peculiar *r* is explained in the Appendix, in the notation, under *ɽ*, the proper symbol, for which *r* has been used for convenience throughout this paper.

In those English words which are written with *w* before the *r*, we still sound it as a *v*, as *vruy·tin* (writing), *vraa·slin* (wrestling), *vrau·ng* (wrong), *vrau·t-uy·ŭr* (wrought-iron), *vreth-uur·dlz* (wreath-hurdles), *vruyt* (right or wright); but yet the *r* is dropped in *Fid* (Fred), *Fad·urik* (Frederick), *wùs* (worse), *vuuz* (furze), *oa·ŭz* (hoarse), *puus* (purse), and many others.

To many words we affix a faint "vanish" or even syllable ending in *r*, as *wau·r toa·ŭrz*[2] (ware toes), *muyn yur taap·ur* (mind your top, or head). The nasal bone of all animals is called by the butchers *dhu snaut·ur boa·ŭn.*

The following dialogue is quite authentic from the parish of Winsford on the borders of Exmoor:—

Boy. *Mau·dhur, u blaak pluum·urz goa·ŭt lai·gurz?*

Mother. *Blaak pluum·urz goa·ŭt lai·gurz! nao pidh-ĕe, chee·ŭl.*

Boy. *Wuul dhaen, faath, ŭyv ai·t u stuur·tl boa·ŭr, aur u daev·lz kyuw!*

Mother, have black plums got legs?

No prithee, child.

Well, then, faith, I've eaten a black beetle or a large black snail!

We are the very type of clowns in *Zumurzetzheer*, because we are said to make all our *s*es into *z*s: but this is a libel. We should go to *zee dhu sai* (see the sea), and *saa·r u zik·spuns* (earn a sixpence), and say *sae·ŭl waeks un zoo·ŭp bae·ŭn dhu*

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[1] The *d* is here very indistinct, arising probably from the contact being imperfect, and every time Mr. Elworthy sounded the word to me, I seemed to hear a faint sound of a trilled *r'*, not of the local *ˌr*, in place of the *d*. This reminds me of Winkler's use of d_r in his Low German *Dialektikon*, to represent a sound which it was difficult to assign either to *d* or to *r*.—A. J. Ellis.

[2] The existence of this *r* in the local form *ˌr* is quite clear in Mr. Elworthy's imitation of the local pronunciation. "Toes" is not *toa·ŭz* simply, but *toa·ŭˌrz*. It must be remembered that *ˌr* is very vocal, and that a vowel such as *aa* may be even pronounced through it. It is quite different from the trilled *r'*, or even the literary vocal *r*.—A. J. Ellis.

sae·ŭm (sealing-wax and soap are not the same), *u shaep dùe saa·ylĕe* (a ship sails), and plenty more.

Our *s* goes a long way and has many duties. One of the most usual expressions after giving an order is *shuur?*[1] (dost thou hear?) *snoa?* (dost thou know?) *wuy·sn leok shaa·rp?* (why dost thou not look sharp?) *kas·n hrai·d?* (canst thou not read?). I know of no case where either an *s* or a *z* sound is dropped; but where *s* and *p* come together, as in crisp, hasp, clasp, wasp, these letters are transposed, *krips, haaps, klaaps, waups.* When a plural has to be given to words ending in *st*, it is usual to make a distinct syllable of it: crust, singular *kris*, plural *kris·tez; nes* (nest), *nestez;* post (of a gate) makes *pau·s* and in the plural *pau·sez*, not *paus·tez*; and though post (for letters) is *poa·ŭst*, the plural is *poa·ŭsez.*

Generally the present tense of all our verbs is formed with the auxiliaries *do* for active, and *be* with the present part. for neuter verbs; but by no means unfrequently for emphasis we use the usual inflexion. In that case, however, we have no notion of tacking on a simple consonant and saying "he walks." Our inflexion would be *ai wau·kus*, if we wished distinctly to assert that he does not ride; if merely that he is walking, we should say *ai du wau·kĕe.* So we say *dhu zìn skaa·lus* (the sun scalds), *dhu znoa vaa·lus* (the snow falls), *dhu wau·dr buur·nus, tai·z tu aa·t* (the water burns, it is too hot). Since this paper was commenced, a farrier gave to me, as his reason that a pony, about which I consulted him, was not looking well, that "*ai kwee·dus.*" This meant that the pony suffered pain in its mouth, and so seemed to be, as it were, chewing the cud. This latter operation is always called *chuw·in dhu kweed.* I expect this gentleman would need an interpreter if his practice led him far a-field.

This emphatic inflexion *us* can only be used with neuter verbs, or transitive verbs when used without their objects, and the same invariable rule applies to the well-known suffix *y* or *ĕe* as given in the preceding and following examples; but this last is the sign of the neuter infinitive: *Aa·y du faat muy bee·ŭs wai kee·ŭk, un dhai dùe preov·ĕe tuur·bl,* "I fat my cattle with (oil) cake, and they thrive extremely well." *Aa·y zìm tul druw·ĕe tudai‘,* "I think it will be drying weather to-day,"—that is, fit for haymaking. Or the very common saying, *Sae·ŭmz Jon·i Krok·ur laa·rn du rok·ĕe, aa·l aewt ŏa ez oa·n ai·d,* "The same way as Johnny Crocker learned to rock (the cradle), out of his own head."

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[1] Since "hear" becomes *yuur*, "dost hear" ought to be *s-yuur*, and the *sy* falls into *sh*, generating *shuur*."—A. J. Ellis.

This short *ĕe* or *i* sound is clearly an inflexion, and that we have no particular fondness for the termination is proved by the fact that in most English words ending in *y* we get rid of it. For carry we always say *kaa·r,* for quarry *kwau·r,* and for story *stoa·ŭr.* A woman said to me the other day, *Dhai·v uroa·ŭzd aup a puurty stoa·ŭr buw·dn,* "They have raised a pretty story about him."

Some words change their aspirates into *y,* as *yaef·ur* (heifer), *yee·ŭth* (heath and hearth,—the same sound), *yee·ŭt* (heat), *yuur* (here, hear, ear, year,—all alike); but this *y* sound does not occur in the unaspirated words mentioned by Professor Baynes, i.e. east, earn, earth, early, eat, ale, arm, etc., and the *y* is dropped altogether in the pronoun ye: *wuol·ee* (will you), *dùe·ee* (do you), *aav·ee?* (have you?).

The word heather is unknown. There is a sort of oat-grass which is called *ai·ver*; the seedsmen spell it eaver, and call it *ee·ver*; but I suspect our pronunciation is most correct. Our word *yee·ŭth* refers to the plant only; the land on which the heath grows, the heathfield, is always *dhu yaef·feeŭl.*

A curious use of the auxiliary as well as the old form of the verb is found in the common expression *ur daed·n au·t tùe u wai·nt* (she ought not to have gone).

Upon the words and quaint idioms, the wonderful verbiage, the cumbrous jokes, the superfluous prepositions, beyond the few examples I have given, time does not permit me to enter; and though I fear I have already crowded too many examples into this paper to make it fairly intelligible, or anything else than a practical illustration of *Zuum·urzet* indistinctness, yet it touches only the fringe of the subject. There is a very rich mine of treasure in our dialect still unexplored, some portion of which I hope to be able at some time to lay open in another form.

I ought not, however, to conclude without mentioning that our demonstratives are *dhee·uz* (this), *dhaiz* (these), *dhik*, *dhik·i* (that), *dhai*, *dhoo·ŭz* (those). Generally to all these we add *yuur* or *dhae·ŭr*. *Dheeuz yuur sait*, "This seat here;" *Dhai dhae·ŭr bee·ŭs*, "Those beasts there;" *Dhik·i dhae·ŭr vee·ŭl ŏa wai·t*, "That field of wheat there." *Dhat* is never used except in a neuter sense. *Aa·y daed·n zai dhat dhae·ŭr*, "I did not say that there."

In our adverbs we are primitive: *ai du wuur·kĕe kwuy·ut luyk*, "he works quietly," *aa·rd luyk* (hardly), *sùe·unt luyk* (evenly), showing our conservatism in retaining a guttural sound that our usual humour would lead us to discard. We also use *prez·ŭnt luyk* in its true sense of now, at this moment, and not at some short time hence. Presently is still used habitually in this way by many people above the middle class.

Also very commonly we affix prepositions to our adverbs, as herefrom, wherefrom, therefrom; and frequently, as in German, the preposition is the last in the clause, and far removed from the word it governs, *Wae·ŭr ìv·ur daed ur git dhe zee·ŭd vur dhik·i vee·ŭl ŏa waets vraum?* "From whence did he get the seed for that field of oats?"

Many of our verbs take their own prepositions after them, *Wau·t bee laa·fin ŏa?* "At what are you laughing?" *Daan·ĕe tich ŏa m*, "Don't touch them;" *Wae·ŭr dùe ur lee·v tùe?* "Where does he live?" *Wae·ŭr bee gwaa·yn tùe?* "Where are you going?" The old couplet giving the names of noted parishes in the Stag-hunting district also illustrates this:

Oa·ŭr, Kuul·boa·ŭn, un Stauk Pee·roa,
Dree jis plae·ŭzez yùe nìv·er daed yee·r ŏa.
Oare, Culbone, and Stock Pero,
Three such places you never did hear o'.

I have already referred to the fact that in our climate *dhu zìn du skaa·lĕe*, "the sun scalds," and that *wau·dr buur·nus*, "water burns," but possibly owing to peculiar manufacture our *wee·ndurz un kloa·m bee utao·rd*, "windows and crockery are torn," while our *koa·ŭts un aawr buur·chez bee ubroa·kt*, "coats and our breeches are broken." We are fond of titles like our German cousins, and therefore we, like them, dub our neighbour with his calling: *Bae·ŭkur* (Baker) Smith, *Beoch·ur* (Butcher) Tripe, *Taa·yldur* (Tailor) Halfyard, *Baa·rbur* (Barber) Clark, *Tuur·nĕe* (Attorney) Green, *Faa·rmur* (Farmer) *Vaaw·ŭrae·ŭkur* (Fouracre), *Keo·pur Paa·yu* (pail) (Cooper) Pile, are all veritable names.

I have now, I trust, made good the assertion with which I started, that the traces of our archaic speech are by no means as yet swallowed up by the great wave of advancing civilization and enlightenment, and if the examples I have given you shall be the means of drawing more attention from the members of this learned society to the very rich dialect of West Somerset, I shall feel that my presumption in stepping out of my accustomed obscurity, and in coming before you to-night, is not only condoned, but very richly rewarded.

APPENDIX.

CLASSIFIED LISTS OF WORDS TO ILLUSTRATE WEST SOMERSETSHIRE PRONUNCIATION, WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE GLOSSIC SYSTEM OF SPELLING HERE USED.

I.—Table of Glossic Letters in Alphabetical Order drawn up by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc.

The Glossic letter is placed first in capitals, and is followed by the palaeotype equivalent in parenthesis, then by Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech name (except for the diphthongs), one or two exemplificative words which are supposed to have the received English pronunciation, and the number of the list containing it, where the introductory remarks should be consulted. Long vowels in accented syllables have the accent mark (·) placed immediately after the vowel; in unaccented syllables the long vowel is sometimes marked long, as [ēe]. The short vowel in an accented syllable is always followed by a consonant, after which the accent mark is placed. To prevent mistakes, short [ăa, ĕe, ŏa] in closed syllables are thus written. Short [ŭ, ĕe], etc., coming next to other vowels, form diphthongs or "fractures" with them. Monosyllables in the lists are treated as accented syllables. Isolated words in Glossic are inclosed between square brackets [ ], and in palaeotype between parentheses ( ).

A = (æ) = low-front-wide. No. 1. True *a* in b*a*t; always short in this dialect, lengthened in E. Somersetshire.

AA· = (aa) = mid-back-wide. `No. 2. The *a* in f*a*ther, sometimes slightly nasalized, as in America and South Germany. This nasality is sometimes not recognized, but if required might be written [₍aa] = (a₍).

AA = (a). No. 3. Short of the last, as in German m*a*nn.

AAW· = (á*u*). No. 4. This is the German diphthong in h*aus*, which is sometimes used in received speech, but is decidedly broader than the usual literary sound of h*ouse*. It occurs only in the fracture No. 4.

AAW·ŭ = (á*u*'). No. 4. A fractured diphthong.

AA·Y = (áa*i*). No. 5. This is generally used for the English *aye* meaning 'yes,' but the vowel is decidedly long in the dialect.

AAY = (á*i*). No. 6. The German *ei*, *ai*.

AA·Yŭ = (áa*i*'). No. 7. A fractured diphthong.

AE = (ᴇ) = low-front-primary. No. 8. This is the usual provincial short *e*, which is also not unfrequent in literary pronunciation, but is rather broader than my *e* in [bet], and is the 'open' French *è* and open Italian *e*. It does not occur long in the dialect, except in the following fracture.

AE·ŭ = (ᴇᴇ'). No. 9. This is the fully broad French long *ê* followed by a glide leading to a short sound of *u* in b*u*t, resembling the literary *air* in f*air*, with the vowel considerably broader and the final *r* quite untrilled. It replaces long *a* in the dialect.

AEW· = (ᴇ'*u*). No. 10. This is the common sound for *ou* in h*ou*se in the dialect. It is a little broader than a common Cockney and Kent pronunciation, and is precisely the same as the Norfolk sound.

AEW·ŭ = (ᴇ*u*'). No. 11. The last diphthong fractured.

AI· = (*ee*) = mid-front-primary. No. 12. This is the literary long *a* or *ai* in p*a*le, p*ai*l, without any trace of the faint *ee* sound with which the literary sound is frequently accompanied; it is thus the French 'close' or 'shut' *é*.

AO· = (oo) = mid-back-wide-round. No. 13. This occurs only before *r* in literary English, as *tore*, *bore*, where it is often confused with [au] = (ᴀᴀ). It is the 'open' Italian *o*.

AO·ŭ = (oo'). No. 14. The last sound fractured.

AU· = (ᴀᴀ) = low-back-primary-round. No. 15. The usual *aw* in *law*, often replacing short *o* in the dialect.

AU = (ᴀ). No. 16. The short sound of the last vowel; altogether coarser than the literary [o] = (ɔ), and liable to be lengthened.

AU·Y = (ᴀᴀ'*i*). No. 17. The *oy* of b*oy* with the [o] = (ɔ) pronounced as very long [au·] = (ᴀᴀ).

AUY = (ᴀ'*i*). No. 18. Scarcely distinct from the ordinary *oy* of b*oy*.

A'Y = (áh*i*), and A'·Y = (áah*i*). See note to No. 6. The first element of this diphthong [a'] = (ah) = mid-mixed-wide, is that delicate sound between [a] = (æ) and [aa] = (a), often heard in delicate pronunciations of *ask*, *staff*, and so on. The resulting [a'y] = (áh*i*) is much more delicate than [aay] = (á*i*), but resembles this last diphthong more than the [uy] = (ə'*i*) of No. 40. It is never confused with [aa·y] = (áa*i*) in the dialect.

B = (b) = lip-shut-voice. The ordinary *b*.

CH = (tsh). The ordinary consonantal diphthong in *ch*est, su*ch*.

D = (d) = point-shut-voice. No. 63. The ordinary *d*. Never dental; it may indeed be quite 'cerebral' = [₍d] = (ᴅ), as it is distinctly related to [₍r] = (ʀ). See ₍R below.

DH = (dh) = front-mixed-divided-voice. No. 62. The ordinary *th* in *th*e, *th*at, *th*ose.

E = (e) = front-mid-wide. The ordinary literary short *e*, apparently replaced by [ae] = (ᴇ) in accented syllables in the dialect, but possibly used in the plural *-es* = [ez] = (ez), where the sound is obscured.

E' = (œ) = low-mixed-wide. See note to No. 8. This is scarcely more than [er], with a perfectly untrilled [r], in h*er*b, which is again almost the same as [u·] = (əə) = mid-mixed-primary.

EA = (ʏ$_2$) = high-mixed-primary. See note to No. 23. This is the Polish *y*.

EE· = (ii) = high-front-primary. No. 19. The common *e* long in *e*ven.

EE = (i). No. 20. The short sound of the last vowel frequently occurs in open and even closed syllables, both accented and unaccented, where it is unknown in literary English, except perhaps in the word [·bĕen] = (bin), which is however commonly [bee·n, bin·] = (biin, b*i*n).

EE·ŭ = (ii'). No. 21. A fracture of the above, like the literary *ear* = [i·ŭ] = (*ii*'), when the *r* is perfectly untrilled.

E'O· = (*ə*$_2$*ə*$_2$) = mid-front-round. No. 22. A deep variety of the closer French *eu* in f*eu*, the long German *oe* in G*oe*the, k*oe*nig, in central Germany. See *Postscript*.

E'O = (ə$_2$). No. 23. The last vowel shortened. See *Postscript*.

F = (f) = lip-divided-voiceless. Nos. 43 to 48 and No. 64. The usual F, occurring especially in emphatic words.

FV = (fv). No. 44. An initial combination, beginning with a faint sound of *f*, running off into a distinct sound of *v*, so that ordinarily the *v* alone is usually heard, but in emphatic pronunciation the *f* alone is heard.

G = (g) = back-shut-voice. The usual *g*.

GY' = (gj). The back of the tongue is somewhat nearer the teeth than for *g*, and a faint sound of [ee] = (i) or *y* is heard. Made by attempting to pronounce [g] and [y] at once.

H = (ʜh) = aspirate. A fully developed aspirate with distinct whisper, but chiefly heard before emphatic words in the dialect.

HR for HˏR = (ʜhʀ). The preceding breath seemed not to be always thrown through the position of (ˏr) = (ʀ), but, as Mr. Elworthy pronounced, to be thrown first with a little jerk through the position for [aa] = (a). Yet as this sound is an emphatic variety of [ˏr], on the analogy of [fv], No. 44, the sound should be = (ʀh⌊ʀ), or strong (ʀh) followed by weak (ʀ).

I = (*i*) = high-front-wide. No. 24. The common literary *i* in t*i*n, kn*i*t. Often obscured to [ì] = (*i*$_2$).

Ì = (*i*$_2$), see note to No. 30. This is a deep modification of [i] = (*i*). See *Postscript*.

I' = (*y*) = high-mixed-wide. See note to No. 30. This is properly the sound of Welsh *u*.

J = (dzh). This is the usual *j*, and *dge* in *judge* = [juj].

K = (k) = back-shut-voiceless. The usual *c* and *k* in *c*oo*k*.

KY' = (kj). This is [k] with an attempt to pronounce [y] at the same time.

L = (l) = point-divided-voice. The usual *l*. It is very possible however that the dialect rather uses the 'cerebral' form [ˏl] = (ʟ) (see notes to No. 23), but this would require long observation of native speakers. It seems however that the whole tendency of the dialect is towards the cerebral formation, with a reverted tongue. See ˏR below.

M = (m) = lip-nasal-voice. The usual *m*.

N = (n) = point-nasal-voice. The usual *n*.

NG = (q) = back-nasal-voice. The usual *ng* in si*ng* and *n* in si*n*k, which is therefore written [singk] = (s*i*qk).

O = (ɔ) = low-back-wide-round. The common short *o* in *not*. This sound is apparently replaced in the dialect by its near neighbour, short [au] = (ᴀ). See note to No. 16.

O' = (ɔh) = low-mixed-wide-round. This differs but slightly from [o] = (ɔ). See note to No. 33.

OA· = (*oo*) = mid-back-round. No. 25. This is the literary long *o* in sm*o*ke, without any trace of a following [ŏo] = (u) sound.

OA = (*o*). No. 26. The short sound of the last vowel.

OA·ŭ = (*oo*'). No. 27. This is nearly the same as the literary English *oar* = (6oə), with [ao] in place of [oa].

OE = (œ) = mid-front-wide-round. No. 28. It is the open French *eu* in *veuf*. See *Postscript*.

OO· = (uu) = high-back-round. No. 29. This is the usual *oo* in p*oo*l.

OO'. This is a new sign, which has no palaeotype equivalent, and is used for the reasons given in the note to No. 30. It apparently represents [ì, èo, ùo] = (i_2, ∂_2, u_2). See *Postscript.*

OO·ŭ = (uu'). No. 31. The fractured form of [oo] = (uu).

P = (p) = lip-shut-voiceless. This is the common *p*.

R = (ɹ). This is the literary *vocal r*, which is really a vowel, with permission to make a trill after it. Mr. Melville Bell takes the English sound to be [„r] = $(r_\circ)$, which he calls "point," where the tip of the tongue points nearly in the position for [t], but does not touch the palate, and is still. This sound seems to be used by Americans in the word Ame*r*ica = [ŭme„r·ikŭ] = $(\text{əmer}_\circ\cdot\textit{ı}\text{kə})$, and very closely resembles the dialectal [‚ɹ]. As nothing but [‚r] occurs in the dialect, in this paper *r* is used for (‚r) throughout.

(‚R) = (ʀ). No. 66. This is the dialectal *r* throughout, but for convenience of printing, the (‚) has been omitted. The tip of the tongue points a little further back towards the throat than it does for [t], so that the under part of the tip is nearer to the palate, and a hollow space is formed between the middle (or "front") and the tip. This produces a peculiar dullness in the preceding vowel, which may even be occasionally pronounced at the same time at this [‚r] = (ʀ), thus forming a set of "tip" vowels, and these again may be the foundation of some of the peculiar vowels here marked [ì, èo, ùo], and attributed rather to the widening of the bottom of the pharynx, as (i_2, ∂_2, u_2), instead of to this curving back of the tongue. The sound written [aar], for [aa‚r], is also possibly an attempt to pronounce [aa] with the tip of the tongue in the position for [‚r] = (ʀ). Such vowels might be written ['aa], etc., simply. For [„r] (see R above), the tip of the tongue is stiff, but for [‚r] it is flexible, and hence can quiver more or less strongly. In the dialect this seems to produce a sort of growl, still more marked in Wiltshire. This is called the "reverted *r*," and is the Sanscrit "cerebral *r*," as most distinctly pronounced in the Dravidian languages near Madras.

R' = (r). The true tip trilled *r*, as slightly trilled before a vowel in literary English, and strongly in Scotch, does not occur in the dialect. It is necessary to distinguish

[r'] = (r) just described, from

[r] = (ɹ), the vocal *r* or vowel [u] = (ə), generally lengthened and followed at pleasure by this [r'].

[„r] = $(r_\circ)$, the untrilled *r*, or imperfect *d* with a stiff tongue.

[‚r] = (ʀ), the reverted *r* of the dialect with quivering tip of tongue.

['r] = (*r*), the French and German trill produced by quivering the uvula.

[,r] = (ᴛ), the Danish glottal *r*, where the trill is formed in the glottis.

There is a great tendency to confuse all the latter *r*'s together, and to pronounce them like the two literary forms of *r* = [r, r'] = (ɹ, r), neither of which occur in the dialect, which only recognizes [‚r] = (ʀ).

S = (s) = front-mixed. Nos. *54*, *55*. The usual *c* and *s* in *c*ea*s*e. The tongue is arched.

SH = (sh) = point-mixed. Nos. *56* to *58*. The usual *sh* in sa*sh*. The tongue is hollowed as for [‚r].

SHZH = (shzh). An initial combination in the dialect, similar in construction to [fv]. See note to No. 44.

SZ = (sz). An initial combination in the dialect, similar to [fv]. See note to No. 44.

T = (t) = point-shut. The usual literary English *t*, and decidedly not dental. See D and ‚R, above.

TH = (th) = front-mixed-divided. Nos. *59* to 63. The usual English *th* in *th*in; decidedly dental. The incompatibility of this with [‚r], probably produced the sound [d‚r-] for [thr'-]. No. 63.

THDH = (thdh). This probably occurs as an initial combination in the dialect similar to [fv]. See note to No. 44.

U = (ə) = mid-mixed primary. No. 32. This bears a similar relation to [uu] = (ᴈ) as [e] = (e) does to [ae] = (ᴇ). As many speakers of literary English use [ae] for [e], so many use [uu] for [u].

U' = (ɐ) = high-back-wide. See note to No. 32. Perhaps the commonest open unaccented vowel in literary English, as *A*meric*a*, but usually taken to be [u], and so written throughout this paper.

UA = (œ) = low-back-primary. No. 33. A very doubtful vowel, possibly merely [uu] = (ɜ) affected by a following [ˌduˏr] = (ᴅəʀ). See *Postscript.*

U'E· = (y_2y_2) or (y_1y_1) or ($ə^1ə^1$). No. 34. This is a variety of the French *u* = [ue] = (y) = high-wide-round, or else of French *eu* = [eo] = (ə). See E'O. See *Postscript.*

U'E = (y_2) or (y_1) or ($ə^1$). No. 35. The short of the last vowel.

UI' = (ʊ) = high-mixed-round. See note to No. 23 This is the Swedish *u* (rather more like [oo] than the French [ue]), but it is very doubtful whether it is really used in the dialect. See *Postscript.*

UO = (*u*) = high-back-wide-round. No. 36. This is the common *u* in f*u*ll and *oo* in b*oo*k.

U'O = (u_2). See note to No. 30. If this is correctly analysed, it represents a variety of [uo] = (*u*) produced by widening the lower part of the pharynx.

UO' = (*u*h) = high-mixed-wide-round. See note to No. 23. This is the Italian close *o*, doubtfully assigned by Dr. Murray to certain words now ranged under No. 23.

UU = (ɜ) = mid-back-primary. No. 37. The thicker sound often heard in literary English for *u* in b*u*t, t*u*b. In various dialects it is often thickened greatly, till it is difficult to distinguish from [ŏa, ŭo] = (*o*, *u*). See *Postscript*. It seems to be the regular dialectal form for *u* in accented syllables, and for the obscure sound heard when *r* is transposed, as in [guuˏrt] = (gɜʀt) for *great.*

UW = (ə'*u*). No. 38. This is the literary English *ou* in h*ou*se.

UW·ŭ = (ə'*u*'). No. 39. A fractured form of the last diphthong.

UY = (ə'*i*). No. 40. This, or [a'y] = (áh*i*), is the literary English long *i*, as in m*i*nd.

UY·ŭ = (ə'*i*'). No. 41. A fractured form of the last diphthong.

UUY = (ɜ'*i*). No. 42. This is a much thicker sound of [uy] = (ə'*i*), and is related to it as [uu] to [u]. It constantly produces the impression of [oay] = (*ó i*) or [auy] = (ᴀ'*i*). In the dialect it occurs only in the fracture [wuuy] = (uɜ'*i*), which I at first appreciated as [waoy] = (uó*i*).

V = (v) = lip-divided-voice. Nos. 49 to 53. The common literary English *v*.

W = (w) = lip-voice. The common literary English *w*.

WUUY = (uɜ'*i*). No. 42. See UUY above.

Y = (ɟ) = front-voice. The usual English *y* in *y*es.

Z = (z) = front-mixed-voice. No. 54. The usual *z* in *z*eal, whi*zz*.

ZH = (zh) = point-mixed-voice. Nos. 56, 57. The usual French *j* or *ge* in French *juge* = [zhuezh] = (zhyzh).

The above alphabetical order, which is used in the following lists, is not well adapted for studying the relations of the vowels, hence I annex a phonetic linear order in which the simple vowels really used in the dialect, so far as I can appreciate them, are arranged in order of gradation (see my *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 1285). Prefixed to each vowel is the number of the list in which it occurs. As only quality, and not quantity, was here of importance, the distinctions of length are not assigned. The diphthongs and fractures form separate lists. The palaeotype is subjoined, preceded by =.

19 *Simple Vowels.*

19. ee = i
24. i = *i*
30. ì = i_2
12. ai = *e*
8. ae = ᴇ
1. a = æ
2. 3. aa = a
15. 16. au = ᴀ
13. ao = o
25. 26. oa = *o*
36. uo = *u*
30. ùo = u_2
29. 30. oo = u
34. 35. ùe = y_2
22. 23. 30. èo = $ə_2$
28. oe = œ
32. u = ɵ
37. uu = ɜ
33. ua = ɶ

4 *Y Diphthongs.*

5. 6. aay =á*i*
17. 18. auy =ᴀ'*i*
40. uy =ə'*i*
42. uuy =ɐ'*i*

2 *W Diphthongs.*

10. aew =ᴇ'*u*
38. uw =ə'*u*

5 *Simple Fractures.*

21. eeŭ =i'
9. aeŭ =ᴇ'
14. aoŭ =o'
27. oaŭ =*o*'
31. ooŭ =u'

5 *Diphthongal Fractures.*

7. aayŭ =á*i*'
41. uyŭ =ə'*i*
11. aewŭ =ᴇ'*u*'
4. aawŭ =á*u*'
39. uwŭ =ə'*u*'

II.—CLASSIFIED LISTS OF VOWELS, DIPHTHONGS AND FRACTURES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

All the dialectal words in this list are written according to the Glossic system just explained. Having previously arranged the words in groups, according to their vowels, each word was pronounced by me to Mr. Ellis, often many times, in an examination extending over five days, and he assigned the vowels as well as he could. The difficulties that he experienced are explained in the introductory notes prefixed to each list. Some of my groupings were slightly altered in consequence. The following is the arrangement.

The lists are placed in the alphabetical order of the Glossic symbols for the vowels they contain, and numbered for ease of reference. At the head of each list is given the Glossic vowel, which determines its order, in capitals, followed by its palaeotypic symbol in small letters, preceded by =. In the introductory remarks, which are in smaller type, all words in Glossic spelling are inclosed in square brackets [ ], and those in palaeotype in round parenthesis ( ).

In the lists themselves only Glossic is used for the pronunciation, which forms the left-hand division of each column, the ordinary spelling forms the right-hand division. The words are arranged in the alphabetical order of their Glossic orthography, taking the letters in order from the *end* towards the beginning in each word, as in Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, so that all words which rhyme come after each other, and hence, so far as monosyllables are concerned, words in which the vowel is followed by the same consonant come together. Final *t* or *d* separated from the rest of the word by a (, as [ŭ-ang(d], is pronounced only before a vowel.

When the same word is found in more than one of the lists, it is to be taken as having more than one sound in common use in the dialect.

As the object of these lists was to show the peculiar phonetic structure of the dialect, only those words are admitted as a rule which are common to both the literary and dialectal languages. Those which are strictly local will appear hereafter in a glossary.

This arrangement is of course not sufficient for a complete examination of the phonetic relations, but all others can be readily formed from these. Thus if all the words were written according to their present literary form, they might be alphabetically arranged, and the various dialectal pronunciations compared. The arrangement might also be made by the original Anglosaxon or Norman forms of the words, and these two sets separated. But one form alone could be used here, and it seemed simplest to exemplify the existing alphabetical sounds.

The very valuable assistance I have received from Mr. Ellis in going through all these lists, word by word, so as to give them their phonetic equivalents correctly, demands my most grateful recognition. I have further to express my obligation for the great labour he has bestowed in drawing up the foregoing table of Glossic letters, and for the many notes and remarks to which his initials are appended.

1. Short A=æ.

This appeared to be generally the pure literary *a* in *bat*, *bad*, but it was often a little deeper than I pronounce it, and verged towards [a’]=(ah). Some of these cases are marked * in the list. Some few have been referred to [ăa]=(a) No. 3, and perhaps some more might have been assigned to that list, which Mr. Elworthy had not distinguished originally from No. 1 or No. 2.—A. J. E.

rab	rob, *v. pres.* and *pret.*	vranch	French, *a.* wrench, *v.* and *s.*
skad	scud, *s.*	stanch	staunch, *a.* stench, *s.*
drad	thread, *v.* and *s.*	mash	marsh, *s.*
hrad	rod, *s.*	ath	earth, *s.*
sprad	spread, *v.*	dath	death, *s.*
zad	said, *v. pret.*	brat-th	breadth, *s.*
fak·tid*	affected, *a.*	brath	breath, *s.*
nat·ŭd*	knotted, *a.*	aj	edge, hedge, *v.* and *s.*
een·dat·ŭd*	indebted, *a.*	laj	ledge, *s.*
plant·ŭd	planted, *a.*	zlaj	sledge(hammer)
ang·grĕe	angry, *a.*	draj	dredge, *v.* and *s.*
laf	leave, *v.* left, *pret.* and *a.*	zaj	sedge, *s.*
ŭ-laf·	left, *p.p.*	stranj	strange, *a.*
bag	beg, *v.*	nak	neck, *s.*
kag	keg, *s.*	pak	peck, *s.*
pag	peg, *v.* and *s.*	kurak·	correct, *a.*
ang	hang, *v. pres.* and *pret.*	vrak, rak	wreck, *v.* and *s.*
ŭ-ang(d	hung, hanged, *p.p.*	aa·rchitak	architect, *s.*
mang	among, *prep.*	sprangk	sprinkle, *v.*
strach	stretch, *v.* and *s.*	dhangk	thank, *v.* and *s.*
vach	fetch, *v.*	vlangk	flank, *s.*
anch	haunch, *s.*	pangk	pant, *v.*
planch	plank, *s.*	ad·l	addle, *v.* and *a.*
dranch	drench, *v.* and *s.*	zad·l	saddle, *s.*
tranch	trench, *v.* and *s.*	ang·l	angle, *v.* and *s.*
		jang·l	jangle, *v.* and *s.*

1. Short A=æ.—*continued.*

ıg·l	mangle, mangold
ɽ·l	tangle, *v.* and *s.*
·vang·gl	new-fangled, *a.*
ɩ·l	freckle, *s.*
	handle, *v.* and *s.*
·l	candle, *s.*
ı·l	spaniel, *s.*
ı·l	wrestle, *v. pres.* and *pret.*
.	settle, *v.*
ɜ·man·l	portmanteau, *s.*
ikl	reticule, *s.*
ı·l	scandal, *s.*
n	eleven, *a.*
m	seven, *a.*
	land, *s.*
un-an·	second-hand, *a.*
ı	bran, *s.* brand, *v.* and *s.*
n(d	strand, *v.* and *s.*
(d	stand, *v.* and *s.*
	fan, van, *s.*
ı	wan, *a.*
'd	sand
un	second, *a.* and *v.*
ĕen	robin, *s.*
ee·n	fag end, *s.*
·ĕen	standing, *s.*
n-ĕen	reckoning, *s.*
ĕen	lesson, *s.*
n	reckon, *v.*
shŭn	election, *s.*
·n	threaten, *v.*
·sap	precept, *s.*
ŭr	beggar, *s.*
·kichŭr	handkerchief, *s.*
ı·ŭr	feather, *s.*
h·ŭr	weather, *s.*
r	-hedger, *s.*
·ŭr	dredger, *s.*
·-jŭr	danger, *s.*
n·-jŭr	stranger, *s.*
lŭr	saddler, *s.*
r, bad·r	better, a.
ır	letter, *s.*
ŭr	setter, *s.*
sap	except, *prep.*
lak·chŭr	lecture, *s.*
as·, as·n	hast, hast not?
bas	best, *a.*
gas	guess, *v.* and *s.*
las	less, *a.*
blas	bless, *v. pres.* and *pret.*
ŭ-blas· blas·ĕed	blessed, *p.p.* blesséd, *a.*
mas	mess, *s.*
nas(t	nest, *s.*
ras(t	rest, *v.* and *s.*
dras	dress, *s.* and *v.*, *pres.* and *pret.*
pras	press, *s.* and *v. pres.* and *pret.*
dees·tras·	distress, *s.*
puurnsas·	princess, *s.*
yas	yes, *ad.*
zas	says, cess, *s.*, assess, *v.*
tas(t	test, *v.* and *s.*
vas	vest, *s.*
was(t	west, *s.*
kwas	inquest, *s.*
lat·ĕes	lettuce, *s.*
mangks	amongst, *prep.*
naks	next, *a.*
taks	text, *s.*
vaks	vex, *v.*
strav·igŭns	extravagance, *s.*
skan·ŭlŭs	scandalous, *a.*
bat	bet, *v.* and *s.*
lat	let, *v.*
slat	slate, *s.*
plat	plot, *s.*
nat	knot, *v.* and *s.*
pat	pet, *v.* and *s.*
spat	spit, *v.*
drat	threat, *s.*
wat	wet, *v.* and *a.* whet, *v.*
kyat	cat, *s.*
vranch·-nit	French-nut = walnut, *s.*
plant*	plant, *s.*

2. Long AA=aa.

This long vowel is frequently nasalized slightly, but not constantly, hence th nasalization is not marked. It never exceeds, seldom even approaches, th American or South German nasalization of this vowel. Occasionally the vow was made much thinner, approaching [ā'] = (aah). These cases are indicated b * as in list 1. The distinction was not marked enough to throw the words into separate list.—A. J. E.

aa	ah! *interj.*
baa	baa! *interj.*
zaa	saw, *s.*
aa·rb	herb, *s.*
vaa·lb	valve, *s.*
sùep·aarb	superb, *a.*
vaa·rb	verb, *s.*
draa·d	drew, *v. pret.*
ŭ-maa·sukree·d	massacred, *p.p.*
aa·rd	hard, *a.*
kyaa·rd	card, *s.*
gyaa·rd	guard, *v.* and *s.*
yaa·rd	yard, *v.* and *s.*
maa·lurd	mallard, *s.*
oa·pm aa·rtud	openhearted, *a.*
gaa·s-lĕe gyaa·slĕe	ghastly, *a.*
aa·f, aa·v	half, *s.*
draa·f	draught, *s.*
laa·f	lath, *s.*, loft, *s.*
saa·f	safe, *a.*
staa·f	staff, *s.*
aa·rch	arch, *s.*
saa·rch	search, *v.* and *s.*
aa·sh	harsh, *a.*
fraa·sh, vraa·sh	fresh, *a.*
aa·rsh	ash, *s.*
smaa·rsh	smash, *v.* and *s.*
daa·rsh	dash, *v.* and *s.*
gaa·rsh	gash, *v.* and *s.*
laar·sh	lash, *v.* and *s.*
klaa·rsh	clash, *v.* and *s.*
vlaa·rsh	flesh, *s.*
naa·rsh	nesh (soft), *a.*
traa·rsh	trash, *s.*
saa·rsh	sash, *s.*
faa·th	faith, *s.*
klaa·th	cloth, *s.*
paa·trij	partridge, *s.*
vaa·rj	verge, *s.*
saa·rj	serge, *s.*
paa·sij	passage, *s.*
baa·k*	back, *s.*
slaa·k*	slack, *a.*
naa·k*	knock, *v.* and *s.*
traa·k*	track, *v.* and *s.* tract, *s.*
kaun·traa·k*	contract, *v.* and *s.*
paa·k*	pack, *v.* and *s.*
zaa·k*	sack, *s.*
aa·l	all, *s.*
baa·l	bald, *a.*, ball, *s.*
puy·baa·l	piebald, *a.*
smaa·l	small, *a.*
kraa·l	crawl, *s.*
skraa·l	crawl scrawl, *v.* and *s.*
waa·l	wall, *v.* and *s.*
skwaa·l	squall, *s.*
vaa·l	fall, *v.* and *s.*
faa·rshn-ubl	fashionable, *a.*
aa·rubl	arable, *a.*
paa·rubl	parable, *s.*
maa·rdl	marl, *s.*
snaa·rdl	snarl, *v.*
paa·sl	parcel, *s.*
vraa·sl	wrestle, *v.*
baa·tl	beetle, *s.* (mallet)
haa·rtikl	article, *s.*
maa·rvl	marble, *s.*
faa·r-wuul·	farewell, *s.* and *interj.*
laa·m*	lamb, *s.*
daa·m*	damn, *v.*
chaa·m*	champ, chew, *v.*
kaa·pm*	captain, *s.*
waa·rm	warm, *a.*
faa·rdn vaa·rdn	farthing
shaa·mlin	shambling, *a.*
yaa·rlin	yearling, *a.*
laa·rnin	learning, *s.*
saa·rtin	certain, *a.*

2. Long AA=aa.—*continued.*

n	learn, *v.*
sn	parson, *s.*
aa·rnin	concerning
·nŭn	Bampton
nŭn	Taunton
snup	parsnip, *s.*
ır	after, *ad.* and *prep.*
·r	carry, *v.*
	serve, *v.*
,vaa·rdur	far, further, *a.*
·ldur	smaller, *a.*
ldur	parlour, *s.*
·chur*	thatcher, *s.*
·chur*	stretcher, *s.*
schur*	pasture, *s.*
hur	father, *s.*
mur	farmer, *s.*
rsur	mercer, *s.*
aa·rsur aa·sur	tea-saucer, *s.*
r	after, *ad.*
ur	halter, *s.*
tur	salter, *s.*
·tur	daughter, *s.*
lstur	maltster, *s.*
vur	slaver, *v.* and *s.*
yur	sawyer, *s.*
·s	gas, *s.*
s*	cask, *s.* cast, *v.* and *s.*
(t*	last, *a.*
s(t*	blast, *v.* and *s.*
s(t*	mast, *s.*
s*	past, *a.*
a·s*	passed, *p.p.*
*	sauce, *s.*
s*	vast, *a.*
s*	flask, *s.*
*	task, *s.*
ndĕes*	jaundice, *s.*
·lĕes*	auricula, *s.*
s*	dance, *v.* and *s.*
ns*	chance, *s.*

laans*	lance, *s.*
saa·rs	sauce, *s.*
aa·rus	harvest, *v.* and *s.*
aa·t	hat, *s.* hit, *v.* and *s.*
baa·t	bat, *s.*
klaa·t	clod, *s.*
plaa·t	plot, *s.*
faa·t	fat, *a.* and *s.*
braa·t	brought, *v. pret.*
ŭ-braa·t	brought, *p.p.*
flaa·t	flat, *a.*
slaa·t	slate, *s.*
maa·t	mat, *s.*
spaa·t	spit, *v.*
raa·t	rat, *s.*
spraa·t	sprat, *s.*
hraa·t	rot, *v.* and *s.*
traa·t	trot, *v.* and *s.*
maa·lt	malt, *v.* and *s.*
zaa·lt	salt, *v.* and *s.*
aa·nt	have not, has not, *v.* aunt, *s.*
kyaa·nt	cannot
saa·r·munt	sermon, *s.*
aa·rt	heart, art, *s.*
daa·rt	dart, *v.* and *s.*
faa·rt	fart, *v.* and *s.*
kaa·rt	cart, *v.* and *s.*
swĕet·aa·rt	sweet-heart, *s.*
staa·rt	start, *v.* and *s.*
maa·r·kut	market, *s.*
saa·lut	salad, *s.*
aa·v	have, *v.* half, *s.*
kaa·v ky·aav	calf, *s.*
n·aarv	nerve, *s.*
rai·saa·rv	reserve, *v.* and *s.*
staa·rv	starve, *v.*
bzaa·rv	observe, *s.*
aa·ru'	arrow, *s.* harrow, *v.* and *s.*
aa·tur-wurdz	afterwards, *ad.*
spaa·rtikulz	spectacles, *s.*

3. Short AA=a.

e following list has been separated from No. 2. It is possible that more s from that list should have been included in this. The long and short

3. Short AA=a.—*continued.*

vowels are not sharply distinguished in the dialect. Many may be considered rather of middle length than either long or short. It must be therefore only understood that the words in this list seemed to me to have a shorter sound than those in the preceding one. In the words marked * the sound of the vowel seemed more like [a'] = (ah).—A. J. E.

vrach·ĕed	wretched, *a.*
dee·sjas·tid	digested, *p.p.*
gyaal·ĕe	gallow, *v.*
shaamĕe	chamois, *s.*
snaach	notch, *v.* and *s.*
dhaach	thatch, *v.* and *s.*
Maal·ĕe	Molly
daam·ij	damage, *s.*
maar·ij	marriage
gyaal	gall, *s.*
kyaal	call, *v.*
skaal skyaal	scald, *v.* and *s.*
Maal	Moll, *s.*
skyaaf·l	scaffold, *s.*
snaaf·l	snaffle, *s.*
draas·hl	threshold, *s.*
taak·l	tackle, *v.* and *s.*
skaam·l	scamble, *s.*
raam·bl	ramble, *v.*
aap·l	apple, *s.*
graav·l	gravel, *v.* and *s.*
naav·l	navel, *s.*
traav·l	travel, *v.*
vraak·sn	wrexen, *s.* (rushes)

traa·kshun	traction, *s.* attraction, *s.*
aap	hap, *s.* happen, *v.*
daap	dap, *v.* and *s.*
flaap, vlaap	flap, *v.* and *s.*
klaap	clap, *v.* and *s.*
slaap, zlaap	slap, *v.* and *s.*
snaap	snap, *v.* and *s.*
hraap	rap, *v.*
draap	drop, *v.* and *s.*
kraap	crop, *v.* and *s.*
traap	trap, *v.* and *s.*
skraap	scrap, *s.*
straap	strop, *v.* and *s.*
vraap	wrap, *v.* and *s.*
staap	step, *v.* and *s.*
gyaap gaap	gape, *v.* gap, *s.*
yaap	yelp, *v.*
mĕe-aap·	mayhap
aaks*	ask, *v.*
baal·uns*	balance, *v.* and *s.*
aaps*	hasp, *v.* and *s.*
klaap·s*	clasp, *v.* and *s.*
praap·s*	perhaps, *ad.*
yaamut	emmet, *s.*
dhaachez	vetches, *s.*

4. Diphthongal Fracture AAW·ŭ=áu'.

Although [aaw] = (áu) does not seem to be a proper diphthong in the dialect, where [uw, aew] = (ə'u, ᴇ'u) are the usual forms, yet the action of the following [ŭ'r] = ('ʀ) seems to generate it.—A. J. E.

aaw·ŭr	our, *a.* hour, *s.*
faaw·ŭr	four, *a.* emph.
flaaw·ŭr	flower, *s.*
vlaaw·ŭr	flour, *s.*
paaw·ŭr	pour, *a.*

taaw·ŭr	tour, *s.*
vaaw·ŭr	four, *a.*
dĕevaaw·ŭr	devour, *a.*
zaaw·ŭr	sour

5. Diphthong AA·Y=áai.

This diphthong is very distinctive of Western English, where it is always kept separate from [uy, u·y, uuy] = (ə'i, əəi, ɐ'i). The first element is sometimes slightly nasal, see No. 2. In the present list most of the words are French,

5. Diphthong AA·Y=*áai*.—*continued.*

gh some, as *aye*, *lay*, *slay*, *dray*, *gray*, *way*, *sway*, *eight*, are Anglosaxon. word *way* is also, and more usually, [wai]=(w*ee*), similarly for *day*, *say*, *may* 'hich have [aa·y]=(aa*i*) in some other Western dialects.—A. J. E.

d	aid, *v.* and *s.*
yd	laid, *v.*
·yd	maid, *s.*
ıa·yd	paid, *p.p.*
·yd	staid, *a.*
·ylĕe	bailif, *s.*
·yntĕe	dainty, *a.*
ı·yntĕe	plaintiff, *s.*
ı·yg	plague, *v.* and *s.*
yth	faith, *s.*
t-th	eighth, *a.*
	aye
·y	bay, *s.*
y	lay, *v.*
ıbaa·y	by and bye, *ad.*
y !	faith ! *interj.*
·y	gay, *a.*
·y	hay, *s.*
·y	flay, *v.*
ı·y	clay, *s.*
ı·y	play, *v.* and *s.*
ı·y	slay, *v.*
laa·y	mislay, *v.*
ıa·y	splay, *a.*
s·plaa·y	display, *v.* and *s.*
a·y	May, *s.*
·y	pay, *v.* and *s.*
a·y	ray, *s.* array, *v.*
a·y	dray, *s.*
ı·y	fray, *s.*
a·y	gray, *a.*
a·y	pray, *v.*
ıa·y	spry, *a*, spray, *s.*
a·y	stray, *v.*
ı·y	way, *s.* why
ıa·y	away, *ad.*
ıa·y	sway, *v.* and *s.*
m	aim, *v.* and *s.*
a·ym	claim, *v.* and *s.*
·ylĕen	paling, *s.*

raa·ylĕen	railing, *s.*
daa·yn	deign, *v.*
chaa·yn	chain, *v.* and *s.*
faa·yn	feign, *v.*
plaa·yn	plain, *s.* and *a.* complain, *v.*
maa·yn	main (very), *ad.*
paa·yn	pain, *s.*
graa·yn	grain, *v.* and *s.*
hraa·yn	rain, *v.* and *s.* reign, *v.* and *s.*
traa·yn	train, *v.* and *s.*
straa·yn	strain, *v*, and *s.* distrain, *v.*
vaa·yn	vain, *a.* vein, *s.*
draa·yn	drain, *v.* and *s.*
spraa·yn	sprain, *v.* and *s.*
gwaa·yn	going, *part.*
kwaa·yn	quoin, *s.*
taa·yldur	tailor, *s.*
kwaa·yntuns	acquaintance, *s.*
maa·yntnŭns	maintenance, *s.*
aa·yt	eight, *s.*
faa·ynt	faint, *a.* and *v.*
plaa·ynt	plaint, complaint, *s.*
paa·ynt	paint, *v.* and *s.*
saa·ynt	saint, *s.*
taa·ynt	taint, *s.*
kwaa·ynt	quaint, *a.* acquaint, *v.*
straa·yt	straight, *a.*
raa·yz	raise, *v.*
praa·yz	praise, *v.* and *s.*
staa·yz	stays, *s.*
paa·ynz	pains, *s.*
braa·ynz	brains, *s.*
graa·ynz	grains, *s.*
hraa·ynz	reins, rains, *s.*

6. Diphthong AAY=*ái*.

[r. Elworthy had considered this list as belonging to [a'y]=(áh*i*), which is ' nearly the same as [uy]=(ə'*i*), No. 40. With the exception of those words

6. Diphthong AAY=ái.—*continued.*

ending in *sh*, as *dash*, where the sound was clearly [aay] = (ái), it may be doubtful which of the three sounds [aay, a'y, uy] = (ái, áhi, ə'i) is really said, and some of the words will be found as [uy] = (ə'i). Possibly there is much variety in actual use. But none of the words have [aa·y] = (áai), No. 5.—A. J. E.

baay	buy, *v.* bye, *v.*	klaaysh	clash, *v.* and *s.*
aay	eye, *s.* high, *a.*	smaaysh	smash, *v.* and *s.*
faay	fie (faith), *interj.*	naaysh	nesh, *a.*
dhaay	thigh, *s.*	raaysh	rash, *a.* and *s.*
laay	lie, *v.* and *s.*	saaysh	sash, *s.*
maay	my (emphatic)	traaysh	trash, *s.*
paay	pie, *s.*	saay·dur	cider, *s.*
waay	why?	smaayt	smite, *v.*
daaysh	dash, *v.* and *s.*	saayz	size, *v.* and *s.*
gaaysh	gash, *v.* and *s.*	praayz	prize, *v.* and *s.*
laaysh	lash, *v.* and *s.*		

7. Diphthongal Fracture AA·Yŭ=áai'.

The fracture seems to have been introduced by the following [l] or [ˌr], but it is quite distinct.—A. J. E.

aa·yŭl	ail, *v.*	saa·yŭl	sail, *v.* and *s.*
faa·yŭl	fail, *v.*	taa·yŭl	tail, *s.*
haa·yŭl	hail, *v.* and *s.*	vaa·yŭl	veil, *v.* and *s.*
maa·yŭl	mail, *s.*	waa·yŭl	wail, *v.* and *s.*
naa·yŭl	nail, *v.* and *s.*	kwaa·yŭl	quail, *s.*
paa·yŭl	pail, *s.*	praa·yŭrz	prayers, *s.*
raa·yŭl	rail, *s.*	staa·yŭrz	stairs, *s.*
fraa·yŭl	frail, *a.* and *s.*		

8. Short AE=E.

This short sound is very much broader than my sound of *e* in *bet*, *bed*, = [e] = (e), but whether it is always as broad as the French *ê*, *è*, *est*, and German *ä*, is doubtful. It does not occur long, except in the form of a fracture [ae·ŭ] = (EE') No. 9. Several words which were originally included in another list, as having [e'] = (æ), have been introduced here at my suggestion, and are marked *.—A. J. E.

daed	did, *v.*	draef(t*	drift, *v.* and *s.*
laek·wĕed	liquid, *s.*	zaef(t*	sift, *v.*
maed	might, *v.*	staef	stiff, *a.*
ŭmaed·	amid, *ad.*	baeg	big, *a.*
vor·aed	forehead, *s.*	paeg	pig, *s.*
oks·aed[1]	hogshead, *s.*	kaech	catch, *v.*
mael·tichùed	multitude, *s.*	paeth	pith, *s.*
klaef·tid	cloven, *a.* and *p.p.*	vraeth	wreath, *s.*
klaef	cliff, *s.* cleave, *v.*	waeth	worth, *a.*
zlaef(t*	slack, *v.* (lime)	yaeth	heath, hearth, *s.*

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[1] The same in all compounds of *head*.

8. Short AE=E.—*continued.*

t·th	width, *s.*	daeds	didst
ek·	object, *v.*	maeds	midst, *s.*
	project, *v.*	Naek·lĕes	Nicholas
k	make, *v.*	zaes	says
k	prick, *v.*	laes	list, *s.*
lk	skulk, *v.* and *s.*	maes*	miss, *v.*
gk*	link, *s.*		missed, *p.p.*
ngk	stink, *v.* and *s.*		mist, *s.*
	hearse, *s.*	umaes·*	amiss, *ad.*
	dull, *a.*	an·-raes·*	wrist, *s.*
	eel, *s.*	aeks	axe, *s.*
·l	pickle, *v.* and *s.*	haeks	
k·l	prickle, *s.*	vlaeks	flax, *s.*
k·l	trickle, *v.*	faeks	fix, *v.*
m	heaven, *s.*	maeks	mix, *v.*
·m	eleven, *a.*	ŭ-maeks	mixed, *p.p.*
-m	seven, *a.*	aun-maeks	unmixed, *a.*
·ŭm	lithesome, *a.*	waeks	wax, *v.* and *s.*
l·n	did not, *v.*	twaeks*	betwixt, *prep.*
d-raed·n	bed-ridden, *a.*	klaet*	clot, *v.* and *s.*
·n	'tis not	waet*	wilt, *v.*
lh·urĕen	gathering, *s.*	waest*	worst, *a.*
·turn	cistern, *s.*	aent*	hint, *v.* and *s.*
k·sn	flaxen, *a.*	laent*	lint, *s.*
k·sn k·sn	rushes, *s.*	klaent*	clench, *v.* and *s.*
		vlaent*	flint, *s.*
k·sŭn	waxen, *a.*	maent*	mint, *s.*
p, aemt	empty, *v.*	staent*	stint, *s.*
·ur	heifer, *s.*	faet	fit, *a.* and *v.*
·gur	vulgar, *a.*	au·rchaet	orchard, *s.*
k·schur	mixture, *s.*	shaet	shalt, *v.*
·ur	hither, *a.* *ad.*	tangkaet	tankard
lh·ur	gather, *v.*	pùor·ĕemaet	pyramid, *s.*
edh·ur	thither	pùol·ĕemaet	
dh·ur	wither, *v.*	taet	teat, *s.*
ft·ur	shifter, *s.*	zwaet	sweat, *v.* and *s.*
·tur*	rafter, *s.*	yaet	heat, *v.* and *s.*
s·tur*	plaster, *v.* and *s.*	saekst	sixth, *a.*
·tur*	sister, *s.*	taenŭt	tenon, *s.* tenant
·ur*	bitter, *a.*	faet·lz	victuals, *s.*
·ur*	fitter, *s.*	waets	oats, *s.*
·ur*	litter, *v.* and *s.*		

9. Fracture AE·ŭ=EE′.

is fracture is very distinctly and clearly made. The vowel is generally long,
re marked, occasionally it seemed to become short, but I have preserved Mr.

9. Fracture AE·ŭ = EE'.—*continued.*

Elworthy's appreciation. Observe the insertion of [ˏr] in the termination *-atio* always called -[ae·ŭrshun] = -(EE'r·shən).—A. J. E.

ae·ŭ	have, *v.*
bae·ŭb	babe, *s.*
ae·ŭji'd	aged, *a.*
nae·ŭkid	naked, *a.*
bae·ŭd	bad, *a.*
fae·ŭd	fade, *v.*
lae·ŭd	lade, *v.* and *s.*
mae·ŭd	made, *v.*
spae·ŭd	spade, *s.*
trae·ŭd	trade, *v.* and *s.*
wae·ŭd	wade, *v.*
zwae·ŭrd	swore sware, *v. pret.*
krae·ŭz(d	crazy, *a.*
bae·ŭbĕe	baby, *s.*
tae·ŭdĕe	potatoe, *s.*
Dae·ŭvĕe	David, Davy, *s.*
lae·ŭzĕe	lazy, *a.*
sae·ŭf	safe, *a.*
bae·ŭdh	bathe, *v.*
rae·ŭnj	range, *v.* and *s.*
grae·ŭnj	grange, *s.*
pae·ŭj	page, *s.*
rae·ŭj	rage, *v.* and *s.*
stae·ŭj	stage, *s.*
zae·ŭj	sage, *s.*
ae ŭbrikauk	apricot, *s.*
ae·ŭk	ache, *v.* and *s.*
bae·ŭk	bake, *v.*
shae·ŭk	shake
lae·ŭk	lake, *s.*
blae·ŭt, blae·ŭk	bleat, *v.* and *s.*
mae ŭk	make, *v.*
rae·ŭk	rake, *v.* and *s.*
brae·ŭk	brake, *s.*
krae·ŭk	creak, *v.* and *s.*
strae·ŭk	streak, *v.* and *s.*
nae·ŭm-saeŭk	namesake, *s.*
stae·ŭk	stake, steak, *s.*
wae·ŭk	wake, *v.*
kwae·ŭk	quake, *v.*
ae·ŭbl	able, *a.*
fae·ŭbl	fable, *s.*
tae·ŭbl	table, *s.*
zae·ŭlubl	saleable, *a.*
lae·ŭdl	ladle, *s.*
krae·ŭdl	cradle, *s.*
lae·ŭgl	label, *s.*
ae·ŭl	ale, *s.* heal, *v.* heel, *v.*
bae·ŭl	bale, *s.* bail, *v.* and *s.*
gae·ŭl	gale, *s.*
jae·ŭl	jail, *s.*
mae·ŭl	male, *s.* meal, *s.*
pae·ŭl	pale, *a.* appeal, *v.* and *s.*
hrae·ŭl	real, *a.*
sae·ŭl	seal, *v.* and *s.*
tae·ŭl	tale, *s.*
stae·ŭl	stale, *a.* steal, *v.*
vae·ŭl	vale, veal, *s.* veil, *s.*
wae·ŭl	whale, *s.*
zae·ŭl	sale, *s.*
trae·ŭk-l	treacle, *s.*
bae·ŭm	balm, *s.*
fae·ŭm	fame, *s.*
lae·ŭm	lame, *a.*
blae·ŭm	blame, *v.* and *s.*
vlae·ŭm	flame, *s.*
pae·ŭm	palm, *s.*
frae·ŭm	frame, *v.* and *s.*
tae·ŭm	tame, *v.* and *a.*
zae·ŭplĕen	sapling, *s.*
bae·ŭkn	bacon, *s.*
ae·ŭn	hand, *s.* Anne
bae·ŭn	ban, *s.*
lae·ŭn	lane, *s.*
plae·ŭn	plane, *v.* and *s.*
mae·ŭn	man, *s.*
pae·ŭn	pan, *s.*
vae·ŭn	vane, *s.*
zit·iae·ŭrshun	situation, *s.*
rai·lae·ŭrshun	relation, *s.*
oarae·ŭrshun	oration, *s.*
jinirae·ŭrshun	generation, *s.*
ìmĕetae·ŭrshun	imitation, *s.*
grae·ŭp	grape, *s.*
hrae·ŭp	rape, *s.* rasp, *v.*

9. Fracture AE·ŭ=EE'.—*continued.*

e·ŭp	scrape, *v.* and *s.*
ŭp	tape, *s.*
ŭp	sap, *s.*
ŭbur	labour, *v.* and *s.*
ŭr	fair, *a.*
ŭr	rear, *v.*
ŭr	tear, *v.*
ŭr	fair, *s.*
e·ŭr	queer, *a.*
r	air, hair, hare.
ŭr	bear, bare, *v. a.*
ŭr	dare, *v.*
ŭr	fare, *s.* fair, *s.*
·ŭr	there, *ad.*
·ŭr	blare, *v.*
·ŭr	glare, *v.*
·ŭr	flare, *v.* flaw, *v. s.*
·ŭr	mare, *s.*
ŭr	pair, *s.*
ŭr	rear, *v.* rare, *a.*
·ŭr	drear, *a.*
·ŭr	rare, *a.* emph.
ŭr	tear, tare, *v. s.*
·ŭr	stair, *s.* stare, *v.*
·ŭr	were, aware, where, whether, wear
e·ŭr	swear, *v.*
ae·ŭr	sworn, *p.p.*
·ŭjur	stager, *s.*
kur	acre, *s.*
ŭkur	baker, *s.*
·ŭkur	maker, *s.*
ŭkur	taker, *s.*
e·ŭkur	quaker, *s.*
ŭlur	dealer, *s.*
·ŭlur	stealer, *s.*
pŭr	April, *s.*
ŭpur	paper, *s.*
e·ŭpur	scraper, *s.*
·ae·ŭtur	creator, *s.*
ŭtur	nature, *s.*
·ŭtur	prater, *s.*
·ŭstur	master, *s.*
ŭvur	favour, *v.* and *s.*
ŭvyur	Saviour, *s.*
·ŭm-lĕes	blameless, *a.*
nae·ŭmlĕes	nameless, *a.*
trae·ŭps	trape, *v.*
ae·ŭs	ace, *s.* haste, *v.* and *s.*
bae·ŭs	baste, *v.* base, *a.*
dae·ŭs	dace, *s.*
fae·ŭs	face, *s.*
lae·ŭs	lace, *s.*
plae·ŭs	place, *s.*
dees·plae·ŭs	displace, *v.*
mae·ŭs	mace, *s.* (oak) mast, *s.*
pae·ŭs, pae·ŭz	pace, *s.*
spae·ŭs	space, *s.*
brae·ŭs	brace, *s.*
grae·ŭs	grace, *s.*
dees·grae·ŭs	disgrace, *v.* and *s.*
trae·ŭs	trace, *v.* and *s.*
tae·ŭs	taste, *v.* and *s.*
wae·ŭs	waste, *v.* and *s.*
bae·ŭn(t	baint (are not)
pae ŭrt	part, *v.* and *s.*
ŭ-pae·ŭrt	apart, *ad.*
ae·ŭt	hate, *v.* and *s.*
dae·ŭt	date, *s.*
fae·ŭt	fate, *s.*
nav·igae·ŭt	navigate, *s.*
lae ŭt	late, *a.*
plae·ŭt	plate, *s.*
slae·ŭt	slate, *s.*
mae·ŭt	mate, *s.*
pae·ŭt	pate, *s.*
rae·ŭt	rate, *v.* and *s.*
grae·ŭt	grate, *s.*
prae·ŭt	prate, *v.* and *s.*
stae·ŭt	state, *s.*
vae ŭt	vat, *s.*
lae·ŭv	lathe, *s.*
krae·ŭv	crave, *v.*
sae·ŭv	save, *v.*
stae·ŭv	stave, *s.*
wae·ŭv	wave, *v.* not *s.*
flae·ŭmz	flames, *s.*
dae·ŭz	daze, *v.*
blae·ŭz	blaze, *s.*
brae·ŭz	braze, *v.*
krae·ŭz	crack, *v.* craze, *v.*

10. Diphthong AEW=ᴇ'*u*.

This seemed to me fairly [aew] = (ᴇ'*u*), though the sound occasionally approached to [aw] = (æ'*u*). Dr. Murray, however, seems to have heard an additional vowel and a long first element as [ae·uw] = (ᴇᴇ'ə*u*), giving the diphthong [uw] = (ə'*u*), preceded by [āe] = (ᴇᴇ), which glided into it. Whenever the [illegible]e diphthong [aew] = (ᴇ'*u*) is much lengthened, a similar effect may be perceived, as [illegible]s in the common Norfolk *cow*, and, very nearly, in the vulgar London *cow*. Hence [illegible]e Dr. Murray's appreciation probably arose from the slow enunciation of the single [illegible]e words. The normal sound for these words in the dialect is evidently [uw] = (ə'*u*) [illegible]), No. 38.—A. J. E.

baewd (before a vowel) baewt	about, *prep.*	aun·saew·n	unsound, *a.*
laewd	loud, *a.*	vaewn	found, *v. pret.*
klaewd	cloud, *s.*	ŭvaewn	found, *p.p.*
shraewd	shroud, *s.*	waewn	wound, *v.* and *s.*
kraewd	crowd, *s.*	zaewn	sound, *v.* and *s.*
praewd	proud, *a.*	udhaew·tun	without, *prep.*
baewn	bound, *v.* and *s.*	kaew·kumur	cucumber, *s.*
aewn	hound, *v.* and *s.*	kaew·ntur	encounter, *v.* counter, *s.*
daewn	down, *s. prep. ad.*	kaewnt	count, *v.*
aup·m-daew·n	upsidedown, *ad.*	aewt	out, *pr.*
paewn	pound, *v.* and *s.*	gaewt	go out
kaum·paew·n	compound, *v.*	udhaew·t	without, *prep.*
raewn	round, *a.* around, *ad.*	raewt	rut, *s.*
braewn	brown, *a.*	straewt	strut, *v.* and *s.*
graewn	ground, *s.*	aew	how, *ad.*
kraewn	crown, *v.* and *s.*	kaew	cow, *s.*
		plaew	plough, *v.* and *s.*
		zaumaew·	somehow, *ad.*

11. Diphthongal Fracture AEW·ŭ=ᴇ'*u*'.

Before *l* an additional fracture is introduced.—A. J. E.

aew·ŭl	owl, *s.*	graew·ŭl	growl, *v.* and *s.*
shaew·ŭl	shovel, *v.* and *s.*	praew·ŭl	prowl, *v.*

12. Long AI=*ee*.

There was no tendency towards [ai·y] = (*éei*), and I at first appreciated the sound as [ē] = (ee). It was certainly nearer that sound than the London vowel with its vanish (*ee*'j). This list is made up of many separate parts. 1) the original long *e* retained as in *head* [ai·d] = (*ee*d), 2) an original short *e* lengthened as *egg* [ai·g] = (*ee*g), 3) an original short *i* appreciated perhaps as short *e* and then lengthened as *pig* [pai·g] = (p*ee*g), 4) an original [aa·y] = (áa*i*) "junctured" into [āi] as in literary English, as *way* [wai·] = (w*ee*), 5) several words which have now [uy] = (ə'i) in literary English, and used to have [ee] = (ii) or (i*k*h), as *slight*, *lining*, *lightning*, *fright*, *light*, *night*, *sight*, *dive*, *drive*, *knife*, *five*, and which are rather strong evidence of the reality of that older pronunciation.—A. J. E.

splai·ndĕed	splendid, *a.*	ŭ-ai·d	ahead, *ad.*
ai·d	head, *s.*	bai·d	bead, *s.*, bed, *s.*

12. Long AI=*ee.—continued.*

ai·d	forbid, *v.*
l	dead, *a.*
.	lead, *v.*
·ydn-aid	maidenhead, *s.*
d	plead, *v.*
ai·d	mislead, *v.*
·d	bread, *s.*
d	dred, *v.*
·d	read, *v.*
d	traid, *v.*
lstai·d	bedstead, *s.*
·urd	neatherd, *s.*
i·tud	benighted
unsĕe	decency, *a.*
teĕ	slight, *a.*
	egg, *s.*
g	bag, *s*
g	egg, *s.*
g	pig, *s.*
ı	each, *a.*
h	beach, *s.*
h	leech, *s.*
ch	bleach, *v.*
h	peach, *s.*
ch	speech, *s.*
h	reach, *v.*
ch	breach, *s.*
ch	preach, *v.*
ai·ch	beseech, *v.*
h	teach, *v.*
ch	taught, *p.p.*
dh	breathe, *v.*
dh	wreath, *v.*
h	leash, *s.* (three) leash, *s.* (a dog tether)
h, tai·f	teeth, *s.*
	bay, *v.* and *s.* (a dam), bee, *s.*
	day, *s.*
i·	idea, *s.*
	key, quay, *s.*
	lea, *s.* lay, *v.*
	plea, *s.*
	sledge, *s.*, sleigh (part of a loom)
	flee, *s.*
	pea, *s.*

tai·	tea, *s.*
wai·	way, *s*; with, *prep.*, wo (to horses), *interj.*
urn·ăwai·	runaway, *a.*
wai·d wai·	wed (with), *v.*
zai·	say
lai·j	allege, *v.*
spai·k	speak, *v.*
wai·k	weak, *a.*
rai·l	reel, *v.* and *s.*
pai·nsl	pencil, *s.*
ai·kl	equal, *a.*
ai·vl	evil, *s.*
ai·m	hem, *v.* and *s.*
drai·m	dream, *v.* and *s.*
rai·m	ream, *v.* and *s.*
krai·m	cream, *s.*
skrai·m	scream, *v.* and *s.*
strai·m	stream, *v.* and *s.*
stai·m	steam, *v.* and *s.*
ai·vm	even, *a.* and *ad.*
ai·n	hen, *s.*, end, *s.*
bai·n	bend, *v.* and *s.*
Bai·n	Ben, *s.*
dai·n	den, *s.*
fai·n	offend, defend, *v.*
dhai·n	then, *a.*
lai·n	lean, *v.*
blai·n	blind
glai·n	glean, *v.*
mai·n	men, *s.* mean, *v.* and *a.* mend, *v.* amend, *v.*
ae·ŭmai·n	amen
pai·n	(writing-)pen, *s.*
dĕepa·in	depend, *v.*
spai·n	spend, *v.*
ŭspai·n	spent, *p.p.*
rai·n	rend, *v.*
frai·n	friend, *s.*
voar·ai·n	fore-end, *s.*
sai·n, zai·n	send, *v. pres. pret.*
sai·n	seine, *s.*
tai·n	ten, *a.* tend, *v.*
purtai·n	pretend, *v.*
wai·n	wen, *s.* wean, *v.* when, *ad.*

12. Long AI=*ee.—continued.*

kwai·n	quoin, *s.* (external angle)
ŭzai·n	sent, *p.p.*
bai·dĕen	bedding, *s.*
wai·dĕen	wedding, *s.*
spai·kĕen	speaking, *s.*
sail·ĕen	ceiling, *s.*
ai·vmĕen	evening, *s.*
lai·nĕen	lining, *s.*
lai·tnĕen	lightning, *s.*
sai·mŭn	seaman, *s.*
rai·zn	reason, *v.* and *s.*
trai·zn	treason, *s.*
sai·zn	season, *s.*
lai·p	leap
slai·p zlai·p	sleep, *v.* and *s.* slept, *pret.*
ŭzlai·p	asleep, *a.*, slept, *p.p.*
ai·mp	hemp, *s.*
tai·mp	tempt, *v.*
slai·ndŭr	slender, *a.*
mai·ndŭr	mender, *s.*
tai·ndŭr	tender, *a.*
purtai·ndŭr	pretender, *s.*
zai·ndŭr	sender, *s.*
ai·gur	eager, *a.*
sai·zhur	seizure, *s.*
spai·kur	speaker, *s.*
fai·nsur	fencer, *s.*
fai·tur	fighter, *s.*
mai·tur	meter, *s.*
sai·ntur	centre, *s.*
vai·ntur	venture, *v.* and *s.* adventure, *s.*
fai·vur	fever, *s.*
lai·vur	lever, *s.*
ai·dlĕes	headless, *a.* heedless, *a.*
ai·nlĕes	endless, *a.*
sai·nslĕes	senseless, *a.*
pai·ntĕes	penthouse, *s.*
ai·s	east, *s.*, yes, *ad.*
fai·s	feast, *v.* and *s.*
lai·s	lease, *v.* and *s.* least, *a.*
pai·s	peace, *s.*
grai·s	grease, *s.*

faa·rdigrai·s	verdigris, *s.*
aam·burgrai·s	ambergris, *s.*
prai·s	priest, *s.*
dees·ai·s	decease, *s.*
sai·s	cease, *v.*
fai·ns	defence, *s.* fen *v.* and *s.* offence, *s.*
mai·nz	means, *s.* amends, *s.*
kumai·ns	commence, *s.*
aekspai·ns	expense, *s.*
sai·ns	sense, *s.*
purtai·ns	pretence, *s.*
tai·nŭns	attendance, *s.*
ai·t	eat, *v.*
ŭ-ai·t	ate, eaten, *p.p*
bai·t	bite, *v.*
fai·t	fight, *v.* and *s*
chai·t	cheat, *v.* and
lai·t	light, *v.* and *s.*
blai·t, blai·k	bleat, *v.* and *s.*
slai·t	sleet, *s.* slight, sleight, *s.*
kumplai·t	complete, *a.*
mai·t	meat, *s.*
nai·t	night, *s.* neat,
pai·t	peat, *s.*
sai·t	seat, *v.* and *s.* sight, *s.* (larg number)
dai·sai·t	deceit, *s.*
hrai·sai·t	receipt, *s.*
trai·t	treat, *v.* and *s.*
strai·t	street, *s.*
wai·t	wheat, *s.*
zai·t	sight, *s.* (vision)
bai·nt	bent, *a.*
lai·nt	lent, *s.* and *a.*
sŭmai·nt	cement, *v.* and *s.*
rai·pai·nt	repent, *v.*
rai·nt	rent, *v.* and *s.*
tai·nt	tent, *s.*
vai·nt	vent, *v.* and *s.*
pŭrvai·nt	prevent, *v.*
wai·nt	went, *v.* *pret.*
pŭrzai·nt	present, *v.*
ai·v	heave, *v.*

12. Long AI=*ee.—continued.*

v	dive, *v.* and *s.*	wai·v, wai·v·ŭd	wove, *pret.*
·	leave, *v.* and *s.*	prai·stez	priests, *s. pl.*
i·v	left, *p.p.*	ai·z	ease, *s.* is, *v.* emphatic.
ai·v	believe, *v.*		
·v	cleave, *v.*	dhai·z	these, *pr.*
v	knife, *s.*	lai·z	lies, *s.*
·v	drive, *v.* and *s.*	tai·z	tease, *v.* it is, *v.*
ai·v	receive, *v.*	plai·z	please, *v.*
v	five, *a.*	pai·z	pease, *s.*
v	weave, *v.*	sai·z	seize, *v.* size, *s.*

13. Long AO=oo.

hether this list should not include all those marked [ōa]=(*oo*), No. 25, or ıer it should not be included in the latter, is rather doubtful. Many might n it the same as [āu]=(AA), No. 15; but as Mr. Elworthy appreciated the ence, and in reading really made a slight difference, these words must be ıed for further examination. In my first appreciation I considered all the ; marked [oa]=(*oo*) to have [ao]=(oo).—A. J. E.

·r	chare, *v.*	ŭ-tao·rd	torn, *p.p.*
·rin	charing, *part.*	lao·th	loth, *a.*
maor	sycamore, *s.*	kao·l	coal, *s.*
r	story, *s.*	snao·	snow, *s.*, dost know?
:	furrow, *s.*		
:lun	foreland, *s.*	avao·r	before, *ad.*
d	tore, *pret.*		

14. Fracture AO·ŭ=oo'.

seemed to me that this fracture was really pronounced, and that this list · included that marked [oa·ŭ]=(*oo*') No. 27. Where the fracture is made ı added [ŭ]=(ə) or ('), it generally deepens the preceding vowel in all :ts.—A. J. E.

ŭd	blew, *pret.*	skao·ŭr	score, *v.* and *s.* scar, *v.* and *s.*
o·ŭd	blown, *p.p.*		
ŭd	knew, *pret.*	nao·ŭ	know, *v.*, no, *ad.*
·ŭd	crew, *pret.*		

15. Long AU=AA.

ıether the sound was in all cases [āu]=(AA), or whether it was not rather ny (not all cases) more properly [āo]=(oo), No. 13, I found it so difficult termine that I have not attempted to make any division. In my first apıtion I heard [āo]=(oo) in many instances. The [ꞅr]=(R) after this vowel re difficult to appreciate, but it seems to be there when marked; at least it ılt by the speaker.—A. J. E.

	abb, hob, *s.*	slau·b	slab, *s.*
b	Bob	mau·b	mob, *s.*
	gob, *v.*	nau·b	knob, *s.*
	job, *s.*	vau·b	fob, *s.*

15. Long AU=AA.—*continued.*

skwau·b	squab
zwau·b	swab, *v.* and *s.*
sau·lĕed zau·lĕed	solid, *a.*
au·reĕd	horrid, *a.*
vrau·stid	frosted, *a.*
lau·rd	lord, *s.*
lan·lau·rd	landlord, *s.*
wau·rd	ward, *v.* and *s.*
rai·wau·rd	reward, *s.*
au·kŭrd	awkward
skau·lŭrd	scholar, *s.*
au·pŭrd	upward, *ad.*
au·d	odd, *a.*
Gau·d	God
lau·d	lard, *s.*
nau·d	nod, *v.* and *s.*
pau·d	pod, *s.*
rau·d	rod, *s.*
ĕen·rau·d	inroad, *s.*
wau·d	wad, *s.*
spau·tŭd	spotted, *a.*
kau·fĕe	coffee, *s.*
vau·lĕe	follow, *v.*
kau·ntrĕe	contrary, *a.*
vrau·s·tĕe	frosty, *a.*
✓au·f	ought, *v.*
au·f, thau·f	though, *conj.*
dau·f	doff, *v.*
kau·f	cough, *v.*
sau·f	soft, *a.*
lau·ng	long, *a.*
vrau·ng	wrong, *a.*
zau·ng	song, *s.*
dau·g	dog, *s.*
vrau·g	frog, *s.*
skrau·nch	crunch, *v.*
wau·nch	wench, *s.*
snau·ch	notch, *s.*
pau·ch	poach, *v.*
wau·rsh	wash, *v.*
lau·th	loth, *a.*
slau·th	sloth, *s.*
mau·th	moth, *s.* moss, *s.*
brau·th	broth, *s.*
vrau·th	froth, *s.*
mau·nj	mange, *s.*
lau·j	lodge, *v.* and *s.*

wau·j	wedge, *v.* a[illegible]d
lau·jik	logic, *s.*
vau·rk	fork, *s.*
vlau·k	flock, *s.*
smau·k	smock, *s.*
krau·k	crock, *s.*
vrau·k	frock, *s.*
au·poal(d	uphold, *v.*
au·rŭbl	horrible, *a.*
au·nprau·fitŭbl	unprofitable,
bau·dl	bottle, *s.*
kwau·rdl	quarrel, *v.* an[illegible]d
au·fl	offal, *s.*, awful [illegible],
au·bnaayl	hob-nail, *s.*
kau·mikŭl	comical, *a.*
wau·ml	wamble, *v.*
au·l	all, *a.*
kau·l	coal, *s.*
lau·l	loll, *v.*
nau·l	awl, *s.*
grau·l	gravel, *s.*
sprau·l	sprawl, *v.* and *s*
wĕen·vau·l	wind-fall, *s.*
au·rikŭl	oracle, *s.*
mau·sŭl	morsel, *s.*
lau·ryŭl	laurel, *s.*
fau·rm	form, *v.* and [illegible]. (not a bench, see furm)
zwau·rm	swarm, *s.*
vrau·m	from, *prep.*
kau·m(d	come, *v.* came, *pret.*
zau·m	some, *a.*
blau·s·ŭm	blossom, *s.*
au·pur-an·	upper-hand
kau·fĕen	coffin, *s.*
au·rgĕen	organ, *s.*
kwau·rlĕen	quarrelling
mau·rnĕen	morning, *s.*
au·n, aun·	un, *neg. prefix.*
bau·n(d	bond, *v.* and *s.*
ŭ-gau·n	ago, *ad.*
mau·n	maund, *s.*
pau·n	pond, *v.* and *s.*
dĕes·pau·n	despond, *v.*
vau·n(d	fond, *a.*
wau·n(common)	one, *a.*

15. Long AU=AA.—*continued.*

au·pshŭn	corruption
p·lŭn	upland, *s.* and *a.*
p	up, *ad.* and *prefix*
·p	lop, *v.*
·p	flop, *v.* and *s.*
u·p	slop, *v.* and *s.*
u·p	mop, *v.* and *s.*
·p	pop, *v.* and *s.*
u·p	prop, *v.* and *s.*
·p	top, *s.*
au·p	swap, *v.*
·p	sop, *v.* and *s.*
r	or, *conj.*
·r	for, *prep.* (*emph.*)
u·r	ware, beware, *v.* (imperative)
au·r	quarry, *v.* and *s.*
au·r	swath, *s.*
u·bur ·bur	slobber, *v.*
au·ldur	smaller, *a.*
·rchur	torture, *v.* and *s.*
·chur	poacher, *s.*
u·dhur	mother, *s.*
u·njur	manger, *s.*
·ur	hollow, *a.*
·lur	collar, *s.*
·rmur	former, *a.*
u·pur	proper, *a.*
·tur	halter, *v.* and *s.*
·ryur	borer (augur), *s.*
ĕes	office, eaves, *s.*
u·ps	chops, *s.*
·ps ·psĕe	wasp, *s.*
	horse, *s.*
·s	gas, *s.* (occasionally.)
·s(t	cost, *v.* and *s.*
s(t	loss, *s.* lost, *a.* lose, *v.*
·s	gloss, *s.*
·s	most, *a.*
au·s	almost, *ad.*
·s	post, *s.* (for gates, not letters)
·s	roast, *v.* and *s.*
u·s	dross, *s.*

grau·s	gross, *s.* and *a.*
krau·s	cross, *s.*
vrau·s(t	frost, *s.*
tau·s	toss, *v.* and *s.* toast, *s.*
kau·mpŭs	compass, *v.* and *s.*
au·rchaet	orchard, *s.*
shau·rt	short, *a.*
wau·rt	wart, *s.*
kau·mfŭrt	comfort, *s.*
au·t	hot, *a.* ought, *v.*
dau·t	dot, *s.*
dhau·t	thought, *v. pret.*
ŭ-dhau·t	thought, *p.p.*
shau·t	shot, *s.*
jau·t	jot, *s.*
kau·t	cot, *s.*
skau·t	scot, *s.*
blau·t	blot, *v.* and *s.*
slau·t	slot, *v.* and *s.*
snau·t	snot, *s.*
pau·t	pot, *v.* and *s.*
stengk·pau·t	stink-pot, *s.*
spau·t	spot, *v.* and *s.*
rau·t	rot, *v.* and *s.*
grau·t	groat, *s.*
ŭ-vau·t	fetched, *p. p.*
vaar·vau·t vaar·ŭvau·t vur·vau·t	far-fetched, *a.*
skwau·t	squat, *v.*
zau·t	set, *v. pret.* sat, *v. pret.*
ŭ-zau·t	set, sat, *p. p.*
pau·gŭt	pocket, *s.*
au·rnŭt	hornet, *s.*
au·	owe, *v.*
dhau·	thaw, *v. neut.*
aun·dhau·	thaw, *v. active.*
lau·	low, *a.* la! *interj.*
vlau·	flow, *v.*
blau·	blow, *v.* and *s.*
nau·	no, *a.* and *ad.*
eo·rau·	hurrah!
hrau·	raw, *a.*
krau·	crow, *s.*
strau·	strew, *v.*
au·n·tùe	unto, *prep.*

15. Long AU=AA.—*continued.*

au·dz	odds	lau·jinz	lodgings, *s.*
pau·s·ez	posts (for gates)	au·rtz	orts, *s.*
vrau·stez	frosts	wau·z	were, *v. pret*[illegible]*t.*

16. Short AU=A.

My first appreciation gave these as [ăo] = (o), and not as [o] = (ɔ), as [illegible] M Elworthy had considered them. Subsequent examination seemed to show t[illegible] *th* in Mr. Elworthy's pronunciation they were rather [ău] = (ᴀ), and were ap[illegible]*t t* become the long of this vowel, as much as those in No. 15; the negative pr[illegible]*refi* *un* = [aun·] = (ᴀn) belongs more to this list than the last.—A. J. E.

hraud	rode, *v. pret.*	vaul·um	volume, *s.*
Paul·ĕe	Polly	twaud·n	it was not, *v*[illegible]
vaul·ĕe	follow, *v.*	sauf·ĕen	something, *s.*
dhaung	thong, *s.*	faurt·ĕen	fortune, *s.*
vraung	wrong, *a.*	haun	when, *ad.*
hraum·ij	rummage, *s.*	ŭ-chaup·	chopped, *a.*
raunk	rank, *a.*	saup·ŭr	supper, *a.*
zauk	sock, *s.*	kaum·z	comes, *v.*
vaurk	fork, *s.*	maus(t	must, *v.*
chauk·vùel·	chock-full, *a.*	kwaurt	quart, *s.*
paup·l	pebble	vaur·tnŭt	fortunate, *a.*

17. Diphthong AU·Y=AA'*i*.

These seemed to have the first element decidedly long, much more so than in the literary *boy*. Dr. Murray appreciated the sound as (ɔ'*i*), but on careful observation, the few sounds in the next list which approach nearest to (ɔ'*i*) seem to me more appropriately classed as (ᴀ'*i*); it will be seen that they also all belong to this list.—A. J. E.

nau·yntid	anointed, *a.*	pwau·ynt	point, *v.* and *s.*
vau·yd	void, *a.*	bau·yt	bait, *v.* and *s.*
au·yŭl	oil, *v.* and *s.*	wau·yt	wait, *v.* weight, *s.*
wau·yur	weigher, *s.*	tree·fau·y	trefoil, *s.*
chau·ys	choice, *s.* and *a.*	kau·y	coy, *a.* decoy, *s.*
rai·jau·ys	rejoice, *v.*	kunvau·y	convey, *v.*
vau·ys	voice, *s.*	suur·vau·y	survey, *v.* and *s.*
ĕen·vau·ys	invoice, *v.* and *s.*	wau·y	weigh, *v.*
jau·ynt	joint, *s.*		

18. Diphthong AUY=A'*i*.

See the note to No. 17.

wauy	weigh, *v.*	wauyt	wait, *v.* weight, *s.*
bauyt	bait, *v.* and *s.*		

19. Long EE=ii.

'hese are the usual long English *ee*, but this length is much less than the ttish long sound, and Dr. Murray says that "to a Scotch ear they are medial hort." They are, however, much shorter than the short [ĕe] of No. 20.— J. E.

	he, *pr.* (emph.)
	be, *v.* (emph.)
	gee, *int.* (to horses)
e	fly, *v.*
e	me, *pr.* (emph.)
e	three, *a.*
e	we, *pr.* (emph.)
	see, *v.*
·d	bid, *v.* and *s.*
·bee·d	forbid, *v.*
lee·d	eyelid, *s.*
lee·d	fled, *p.p.*
e·d	agreed, *v. pret.*
e·d	reed, *s.*
ee·d, zhree·d	shred, *v.* and *s.*
·stee·d	instead, *ad.*
ee·d	cud, *s.*
·d	saw, *v. pret.*
ee·d	seen, *p.p.*
·ftid	gifted, *a.*
f wee·tŭd	half-witted, *a.*
ntùe	into (emph).
, nee·f	if, *conj.*
·f	deaf, *a.*
e·f	sheath, *s.*
h	itch, *v.* and *s.* hitch, *v.* and *s.*
·ch	bitch, *s.*
·ch	ditch, *s.*
·ch	rich, *a.*
e·ch	stitch, *s.*
e·ch	which, *pr.* witch, *s.* bewitch, *v.*
·sh sh	fish, *v.* and *s.*
·sh	dish, *v.* and *s.*
e·sh	wish, *v.* and *s.*
·pth	depth, *s.*
e·j	oblige, *v. pres.* and *pret.*
nj	hinge, *s.*
dl	little, *a.*

stee·fl	stifle, *v.*
ee·m	hymn
bee·n	bin, *s.*
fee·n	fin, *s.*
chee·n	chin, *s.*
shee·n	shine, *v.* and *s.* shin, *s.*
shee·nid	shone, *v. pret.*
dhee·n thee·n(emph.)	thin, *a.*
kee·n	kin, *s.*
skee·n	skin, *v.* and *s.*
pee·n	pin, *v.* and *s.*
spee·n	spin, *v.*
spee·n spee·nid	spun, *v. pret.*
ŭ-spee·n	spun, *p.p.*
laat·ŭr-ee·n	latter end
see·n zee·n	sin, *v.* and *s.*
tee·n	tin, *v.* and *s.*
but·ee·n	butt-end, *s.*
wee·n	wind, *s.*
twee·n	twin, *s.*
ee·n-lŭn	inland, *a.*
ee·p	hip, *s.*
ee·ndur	hinder, *v.*
kee·ndur	kindred, *s.*
wee·ndur	window, *s.*
splee·tur	splitter, *s.*
ee·s	yes, *ad.*
dhee·s	thou hast
kee·s	kiss, *v.* and *s.*
gree·s	grist, *s.*
kree·s	cress, *s.*
kree·stez	cresses, *s. pl.*
ee·t	yet, *conj.*
kee·t	kit, *s.*
splee·t	split, *v.* and *s.*
vree·t	writ, *s.*
wee·t	wit, *s.*
wee·dŭ	widow, *s.*
ee·ntŭ	into
lee·v	live, *v.*

19. Long EE=ii.—*continued.*

lee·v	leaf, *s.*	vlee·z	fleece, *s.*
shee·v	sheaf, *s.*	vree·z	freeze, *s.*
ee·z	his, *pr.* (emph.)	ŭ-vree·z	frozen, *p.p.*
gee·z	geese, *s.*		

20. Short EE=i.

This list is made up of two very different classes of words, those which closed with a consonant, and those which end in open [ĕe] = (i). As regards closed vowels, the sound is generally as short as in French and German, and k quite distinct from [i] = (*i*), No. 24; thus [spĕed·] = (spid), is quite different fr [spid] = (sp*i*d). This very short and fine [ĕe] in closed syllables seems to peculiar to our Western dialects. To call special attention to it, the form [has been written throughout these lists, although not necessary when the acc mark is duly written in. But there is occasionally a tendency (especially in terminations [ĕen, ĕes] = (in, is), although unaccented) to make the vowel long as of middle length. As respects the words ending in an unaccented open [ĕ I have retained Mr. Elworthy's original notation; but when he pronounced t words to me, I seemed to hear [i] = (*i*) in at least a great many of them. T fine sound was at any rate not so consistently maintained.—A. J. E.

spĕed	speed, *s.*	klaa·rjĕe	clergy, *s.*
blas·ĕed	blessed, *a.*	strae·ŭkĕe	streaky, *a.*
oa·mstĕed	homestead, *s.*	vaal·ĕe, faal·ĕe	value, *v.* and *s.*
tì·mĕed	timid, *a.*	jil·ĕe	jelly, *s.*
raa·pĕed	rapid, *a.*	hug·lĕe	ugly, *a.*
ae·ŭtrĕed	hatred, *s.*	aak·lĕe	actually, *ad.*
ĕe	ye, *pr.*	ai·klĕe	equally, *ad.*
bĕe	be, *v.*	wik·lĕe	weekly, *a.* and *ad.*
ŭrad·ĕe	already, *ad.*	eo·lĕe	woolly, *a.*
brith·dĕe	birthday, *s.*	buul·ĕe	belly, *s.*
Vruy·dĕe	Friday	aun·lĕe	only, *ad.* (emph.)
blid·ĕe	bloody, *a.*	ee·ŭlee	hilly, *a.*
stid·ĕe	steady, *a.*	chuul·ĕe	chilly, *a.*
Muun·dĕe	Monday	luul·ĕe	lily, *s.*
Zin·dĕe	Sunday	puul·ĕe	pully, *s.*
eo·dĕe	woody, *a.*	pop·ŭlĕe	pebbly, *a.*
meo·dĕe	moody, *a.*	ae·ŭpmĕe	halfpenny, *s.*
Zad·urdĕe	Saturday	vaaw·ŭrpmĕe	fourpenny, *a.*
shee·ŭdĕe	shady, *a.*	vil·umĕe	filmy, *a.*
math·udĕe	methodist, *s.*	naat·ŭmĕe	anatomy, *s.*
lae·ŭdĕe	lady, *s.*	aak·n-nĕe	hackney, *s.*
Wai·nzdĕe	Wednesday	chai·nĕe	china, *s.* (ware)
Chùe·zdĕe	Tuesday	puy·nĕe	peony, *s.*
Dhuuz·dĕe	Thursday	gyin·ĕe	guinea, *s.*
pee·chĕe	pitchy, *a.*	min·ĕe	minnow, *s.* many, *a.*
tich·ĕe	touchy, *a.*		
muur·schĕe	mischief, *s.*	tuur·nĕe	attorney, *s.*
mau·njĕe	mangy, *a.*	rat·n-nĕe	retinue, *s.*
widh·ĕe	withe, *s.*	uun·ĕe	only, *ad.*

20. Short EE=i.—*continued.*

ŭpĕe	sappy, *a.*
ŭpĕe	ropy, *a.*
r·ĕe	furrow, *v.*
·rĕe	moory, *a.*
r·ĕe	borrow, *v.*
·fm-drĕe	carpentry, *s.*
·trĕe	sultry, *a.*
l·trĕe	poultry, *s.*
r·ĕe	sorry, *a.*
r·ĕe	bury, *v.*
r·ĕe	ferry, *s.*
ur·ĕe	cherry, *s.*
churĕe	butchery, *s.*
ur·ĕe	sherry, *s.*
urĕe	celery, *s.*
r·ĕe	merry, *a.*
r·ĕe	perry, *s.*
r·ĕe	wherry, *s.*
s·ĕe	mercy, *s.*
rsĕe	saucy, *a.*
·tĕe	cloddy, *a.*
·tĕe	active, *a.*
·mtĕe	seventy
·ntĕe	plaintiff, *s.* plenty, *ad.*
rtĕe	forty
ur·tĕe	thirty
s·tĕe	misty, *a.*
tĕe ·stĕe	rusty, *a.*
·tĕe r·stĕe	crusty, *a.*
·stĕe	fusty, *a.*
·ĕe ?	have you ?
ĕe	kersey, *s.*
ŭzĕe	lazy, *a.*
z·ĕe	fursy, *a.*
ech	screech, *v.* and *s.*
b·ĕesh b·ij	rubbish, *s.*
t·skĕenz	catkins, *s.*
ĕen	ruin, *v.* and *s.*
n	go in
·ĕen	wagon, *s.*
en	pigeon, *s.*
r·kĕen	firkin, *s.*
nshĕen shĕen	pension, *s.*

pun·shĕen	puncheon, *s.*
faa·rshĕen	fashion, *s.*
kuur·shĕen	cushion, *s.*
chaam·pĕen	champion, *s.*
bur·ĕen	burying, *past.*
laat·ĕen	tin, *s.*
vef·tĕen	fifteen
aa·ytĕen	eighteen
zab·m-tĕen	seventeen
dhuur·tĕen	thirteen
zek·stĕen	sixteen, *s.*
ĕep	heap, *s.*
dĕep	deep, *a.*
chĕep	cheap, *a.*
shĕep	sheep, *s.*
kĕep, kĕep·ur	keep, *v.* keeper, *s.*
nĕep	neap, *a.*
pĕep	peep, *v.*
zwĕep	sweep, *v.* and *s.*
hrĕep	reap, *v.*
weĕn·tur	winter, *s.*
vuur·dĕes	furthest, *a.*
yuung-gĕes	youngest, *a.*
boa·lĕes	bolus, *s.*
poa·lĕes	police, *s.*
aar·nĕes	earnest, *a.*
aun·ĕes	honest, *a.*
pĕes	piece, *s.*
haar·tĕes	artist, *s.*
jis·tĕes	justice, *s.*
gyaal·ĕes	gallows, *s.* and *a.*
raak·lĕes	auricula, *s.*
jil·ĕes	jealous, *a.*
zil·ĕes	zealous, *a.*
buul·ĕes	bellows, *s.*
daew·lĕes	dowlas, *s.*
nak·lĕes	necklace, *s.* Nicholas
uur·dnĕes	redness, *s.*
aak·tĕenĕes	activity, *s.*
wik·idnĕes	wickedness, *s.*
dee·fnĕes	deafness, *s.*
staef·nĕes	stiffness, *s.*
big·n-nĕes	bigness, *s.*
uurch·nĕes	richness, *s.*
kaun·tri-nĕes	contrariness, *s.*
kwik·n-nĕes	quickness, *s.*
zik·n-nĕes	sickness, *s.*

20. Short EE=i.—*continued.*

wee·tn-nĕes	witness, *v.* and *s.*	kĕet	kite, *s.*
guurt-nĕes	greatness, *s.*	vuuz·kĕet	furse-kite (falcon), *s.*
biz·nĕes	business, *s.*	vlĕet	fleet, *a.*
maa·trĕes	mattrass, *s.*	sai·krĕet	secret, *a.*
traav·ĕes	traverse, *v.*	muur·ĕet	merit, *s.*
bee·ŭrdlĕes	beardless, *a.*	spuur·ĕet	spirit, *s.*
chee·ŭl-lĕes	childless, *a.*	kuuv·ĕet	covet, *v.*
beg·n-nĕes	bigness, *s.*	wĕet	white, *a.*
bee·ŭslinĕes	beastliness, *s.*	zwĕet	sweet, *a.*
ee·ŭl-nĕes	illness, *s.*	ĕefuy·	defy, *v.*
skee·ŭs-nĕes	scarceness, *s.*		
shĕet	sheet, *s.*		

21. Fracture EE·ŭ=ii’.

In this fracture the first element is marked as long throughout. Some of them had been marked by Mr. Elworthy with the first element of medial length [:eeŭ] = (i^1’), but the distinction did not seem to be always made in pronunciation. Such words are, therefore, simply marked with *. As to the quality of the first element, [ee·ŭ] = (ii’) has been left throughout, as Mr. Elworthy had written, but I certainly sometimes seemed to hear [i·ŭ] = (*ii*’), and sometimes [iŭ] = (*i*’). The writing, however, represents what would be the first appreciation of most hearers. See note to No. 14.—A. J. E.

bee·ŭrd*	beard, *s.*	nee·ŭl*	needle, *s.*
ŭ-fee·ŭrd	afraid, *a.*	pee·ŭl*	pill, *s.* (pillow)
bee·ŭd	bead, *s.*	spee·ŭl*	spill, *v.* spindle, *s.*
shee·ŭd	shade, *v.* and *s.*	tee·ŭl	till, *v.* and *s.*
aarkee·ŭd	arcade, *s.*	stee·ŭl	still, *a.* *ad.* steel, *s.*
zee·ŭd*	seed, *s.*	vee·ŭl	feel, *v.* field, *s.* fill, *v.*
chee·ŭf*	chafe, *v.*	Wee·ŭl	Will, *pr. name,* also a testament, *s.*
dee·ŭrth	dearth, *s.*	kwee·ŭl*	quill, *s.*
kee·ŭj*	cage, *s.*	swee·ŭl*	swill, *v.*
chee·ŭnj*	change, *v.* and *s.*	shee·ŭm*	shame, *v.* and *s.*
shee·ŭk*	shake, *v.*	zee·ŭm*	seam, *v.* and *s.*
kee·ŭk*	cake, *s.*	bee·ŭldĕen*	building, *s.*
gee·ŭbl*	gable, *s.*	vee·ŭrn	fern, *s.*
kee·ŭbl*	cable, *s.*	bee·ŭn	bean, *s.*
an·jee·ŭl*	angel, *s.*	ŭgee·ŭn	again, *ad.*
ee·ŭl	ill, *a.* *ad.* *s.* hill, *s.* yield, *v.*	kee·ŭn*	cane, *v.* and *s.*
Bee·ŭl	Bill, *s.* and *pr. name*	klee·ŭn*	clean, *a.*
bee·ŭl*	build, *v.*	shee·ŭp*	shape, *v.* and *s.*
gee·ŭl*	gill, *s.* guild, *v.*	kee·ŭp*	cape, *s.*
chee·ŭl*	child, *s.* chill, *v.*	skee·ŭp*	escape, *v.* and *s.*
shee·ŭl*	shield, *s.*		
kee·ŭl*	kill, *v.*		
mee·ŭl*	mill, *s.*		

21. Fracture EE·ŭ=ii'.—*continued.*

·ŭp	sleep, *v.* and *s.*	bee·ŭstez*	beasts, *s. pl.*
	slept, *v. pret.*	fee·ŭs*	feast, *v.* and *s.*
enee·ŭp*	beneaped, *a.*		fast, *s.*
ŭr	beer, *s.*	chee·ŭs*	chase, *v.* and *s.*
ŭr	dear, *a.*	kee·ŭs*	case, *s.* (box)
ŭr*	fear, *v.* and *s.*	skee·ŭs*	scarce, *a.* and *ad.*
·ŭr*	share, *v.* and *s.*	skee·ŭs	
·ŭr	shear, *v.* and *s.*	lee·ŭs	last, *v.*
ŭr*	care, *v.* and *s.*	prizivee·ŭrunz	perseverance, *s.*
·ŭr	scare, *v.*	ŭ-shee·ŭk(t*	shaken, *p.p.*
·ŭr	clear, *v.* and *a.*	pee·ŭrt	pert, *a.*
ŭr	mere, *a.* near, *a.*	bee·ŭt	beat, *v.*
·ŭr	spear, *s.*	ŭ-bee·ŭt	beaten, *p.p.*
ŭr	tear, *s.*	gee·ŭt	gate, *s.*
·ŭr	steep, *a.* steer, *s.*	lee·ŭt	leak, *v.* and *s.*
ŭr	fear, *v.* and *s.*		leat, *s.*
·ŭm-lĕes*	shameless, *a.*	shee·ŭv*	shave, *v.* and *s.*
·ŭp-lĕes*	shapeless, *a.*	kee ŭv*	cave, *s.*
·ŭrlĕes*	careless, *a.*	dhee·ŭz	this, *pr.*
·ŭs*	beast, *s.*	kee·ŭz*	case, *s.* (matter)

22. Long E'O=$\partial_2\partial_2$.

his vowel forms one of the greatest difficulties in the dialect and also in
th Devon. It is usually considered to be French *u*=[uě]=(yy), and on re-
ng to list No. 34, it will be found that some of the words here entered occur
e also. The sound therefore apparently fluctuates. The next attempt to
eciate the sound gave it as French *eu* in *feu*=[eo]=(ə). But this seemed on
her hearing to be too fine and delicate. It appears to me that the lower part
he throat, or pharynx, between the mouth and the larynx, is carelessly en-
ed, and hence that the sound is obscured, both for [ue] and [eo], and this
, which is represented by an "inferior" 2 in Palaeotype (*Early English Pro-*
iation, p. 1100, col. 2, bottom), may be noted in Glossic by a grave accent, as
èo]=(y_2, $ə_2$). At any rate these signs will represent sounds not unlike
eo] which are heard in these Western dialects. In No. 30 it will be seen that
s been found convenient to use [ì, ùo] in a similar manner. I have not had
fficient opportunity to become familiar with these very peculiar vowel-sounds,
nitate or analyze them properly, and hence the convenience of having some
trary symbols. See *Postscript.*—A. J. E.

tid	rooted, *a.*	stèo·d	stood, *v.*
·tid	footed, *a.*	bèo·bĕe	booby, *s.*
·tid	booted, *a.*	lèo·bĕe	looby, *s.*
l	wood, *s.* (would,	prèo·f	proof, *s.*
	v. emphatic).	bèo·sh	bush, *s.*
o·d	shod, *pret.* and *pp.*	pèo·sh	push, *v.* and *s.*
	should, *v.* emph.	bèo·dh	booth, *s.* both, *a.*
·d	could, *v.*	yèo·dh	youth, *s.*
·d	mood, *s.*	tèo·th	tooth
o·d	brood, *s.*	tèo·nj	twinge, *v.* and *s.*

22. Long E'O=$ə_{ʏ}ə_{ʏ}$—*continued.*

èo·j	huge, *a.*	yèo·	you, *pr.*
gèo·j	gouge, *s.*	èo·p	whoop, *v.*
èo·d-kauk	woodcock, *s.*		hoop, *v.* and *s.*
dèo·ndl	dwindle, *v.*	kèo·p	coop, *v.* and *s.*
bèo·shl	bushel, *s.*	skèo·p	scoop, *v.* and *s.*
èo·m	womb, *s.*	lèo·p	loop, *v.* and *s.*
kèo·m	combe, *s.*	drèo·p	droop, *v.*
lèo·m	loom, *s.*	trèo·p	troop, *v.* and *s.*
blèo·m	bloom, *v.* and *s.*	stèo·p	stoop, *v.* and *s.*
rèo·m	room, *s.*	pèo·r	pure, *a.*
brèo·m	broom, *v.* and *s.*	bèo·z	abuse, *s.*
krèo·m	crumb, *s.*	kèo·s	course, *s.*
grèo·m	groom, *s.*		coarse, *a.*
drag·èo·n	dragoon, *s.*	tŭ-bèo·t	to boot
bŭlèo·n	balloon, *s.*	mèo·t	moot, *v.* and *s.*
mèo·n	moon, *s.*	rèò·t	root, *v.* and *s.*
voa·rnèo·n	forenoon, *s.*	vèo·t	foot, *s.*
spèon	spoon, *s.*	ŭvèo·t	afoot, *ad.*
zèon	soon, *a.*	bae·ŭrvèo·t	barefooted, *a.*
bèo	beau, *s.*	prèo·v	prove, *v.*
ŭbèo·	above, *a.*	gèo·dz	goods, *s.*
dèo·	due, *a.*	èo·z	ooze, *v.*, whose
gèo·kèo	cuckoo, *s.*	èo·z	noose, *s.*
lèo	loo, *s.*	bèo·z	boose, *v.*
slèo	slough, *s.*	gèo·z	goose, *s.*
ŭnèo·	enough, *ad.*	chèo·z	choose, *v.*
drèo·	through, *prep.*	dhèo·z	those, *pr.*
ran·divèo·	rendezvous, *s.* (common)	pèo·z	puss, *s.*

23. Short E'O=$ə_{ʏ}$.

Difficulties of appreciation necessarily increase when the vowel is both obscure and short. The following list is made out of three parts, which Mr. Elworthy assigned to different vowels. The first part he considered to be the same as in No. 22, that is, with the vowel long. But on hearing him pronounce, the vowel sounded to me rather short than long, and these words (with two exceptions about which I hesitated) end in [k]. The consonant immediately following a vowel seems materially to alter its quality in this dialect, especially when the vowel is short. Vowels which Mr. Elworthy considered to be the same, varied immediately to my ear under the influence of different consonants, and when he was asked to lengthen the vowel, or pronounce it with some consonant before which it did not appear in the dialect, he generally failed to reproduce the sound. Acting upon this feeling, I have put as the second part of this list a set of words all ending in [l] which occasioned Dr. Murray, Mr. Sweet, and myself extreme difficulty to analyze, and which we all practically gave up. The vowel they contained seemed to me at first like the Swedish *u*=[ui']=[ʊ] pronounced very short. Dr. Murray thought it was the Italian *o chiuso*=[uo']=(*u*h) (which is probably merely the same as [ui'] with a wider pharynx), also pronounced very short. Mr. Sweet took the sound to be the Polish *y* fractured, thus [ĕaŭ]=($ʏ_2$'), but still extremely short, and as this Polish sound is merely [ui'] with the lips

23. Short E'O=$ə_2$.—*continued.*

ed, it would appear that all three of us were at first pretty well agreed re-
ing the position of the tongue. But on hearing the words pronounced
 times over on successive days, it appeared that the tongue was drawn up so
ly into the [꜀l]=(ʟ) position as materially to affect the quality of tone, and
I could best imitate the sound by attempting to keep the tongue in the
ion for [꜀l] all the time that I tried to pronounce [èo]=($ə_2$) very briefly, the
l-sound dying out almost immediately into the sound of [꜀l], giving the ap-
nce of a fracture, and then the [꜀l] ending smartly. It will be seen in the
that Mr. Elworthy considers this vowel-sound to be quite a shibboleth. It
t imitated by attempting to call *bull* [bĕol·]=(bəl), quite short, putting the
e in the position for [l] *before* the lips are opened. The third part of this
er forms the second and greater part of No. 30 [ŏo'], where the words are
ed, because Mr. Elworthy appreciated the vowel differently. The note pre-
to that number will explain the difficulties here felt. See also *Postscript*.
J. E.

PART I.

·id	hooked, *a.*	rèok	rook, *s.*
k·id	crooked, *a.*	krèok	crook, *v.* and *s.*
	hook, *v.* and *s.*	tèok	took, *pret.*
k	book, *v.* and *s.*	ŭ-tèok·	taken, *p.p.*
	look, *v.* and *s.*	zèok	suck, *v.*
k	cook, *v.* and *s.*	zèon·dur	sooner, *a.*
k	pook, *s.*	fèoch·ŭr	future, *s.*

PART II.

l	bull, *s.*	stèol	stool, *s.*
l	pull, *v.* and *s.*	rèol	rule, *s.*
	pool, *s.*	mèol	mule, *s.*
l	full, *a. ad.*	spèol	spool, *s.*
	fool, *s.*	draid·fèol	dreadful, *a.*
l	school, *s.*	an·fèol	handful, *s.*
	wool, *s.*	buul·i-vèol	belly-full, *s.*
z	tools, *s.*		

PART III.

This list is the same as No. 30, Part II.

24. Short I=*i*.

hese words have a quite pure [ĭ]=(*i*). But Mr. Elworthy does not admit
sound in open unaccented syllables, see No. 20 [ĕe]=(i). In the closed
cented syllables, as in the inflexion *-ed*=[id]=(*i*d), it is often obscured, and
s to fall into either [i']=(*y*), or [ì]=(i_2), see note to No. 30.—A. J. E.

	-ed., inflexion	kling(d	clung, *v. pret.*
	after *g hard*,	gid	gave, *v. pret.*
	ch, *sh*, *r*.	ŭ-gid·	given, *p.p.*
b·id	cupboard, *s.*	dau·gid	dogged
	Fred.	lid	lead, *s.*

24. Short I=*i*.—*continued.*

blid	bleed, *v.* blood, *s.*
mid	may, might, *v.*
stid	stud, *s.* study, *v.* and *s.*
gyil(d	geld, *v.*
wis·tŭrd	worsted, *s.*
ŭ-mil·urd	mellowed, *a.* and *p.p.*
zing·id	sang, *v. pret.*
zing	sing
ŭ-fik·sid	fixed, *p.p.*
lis·tid	enlisted, *a.*
ris·tid	rusted, *a.*
pidh·ĕe	prythee
pid·igrĕe	pedigree, *s.*
shilf	shelf, *s.*
ŭ-dig·	dug, *p.p.*
hrig	rig, *v.* and *s.*
dhing	thing, *s.*
ŭ-kling	clung, *p.p.*
zling	sling, *v.* and *s.*
zling·id	slung, *v. pret.*
vring	wring, *v.* and *s.*
zing	sing, *v.*
ŭ-zing	sung, *p.p.*
bich	beech, *s.*
jich, jis	such, *a.*
tich	touch, *v.* and *s.*
klich	clutch, *v.* and *s.*
krich	crutch, *s.*
binsh	bench, *s.*
blish	blush, *v.* and *s.*
oa·vur-plish	overplus, *s.*
vlish	fledged, *a.*
rish	rush, *v.* and *s.*
brish	brush, *v.* and *s.*
drish	thrush, *s.*
krish	crush, *v.* and *s.*
likurish	liquorice, *s.*
mau·rgij	mortgage, *v.* and *s.*
jij	judge, *v.* and *s.*
trij	trudge, *v.*
vik·ŭrij	vicarage, *s.*
bik	beak, *s.*
mad·ik	mattock, *s.*
vuur·dik	verdict, *s.*
puur·fik	perfect, *v.* and *a.*

chik	cheek, *s.*
aub·jik	object, *s.*
lik	leek, *s.*
slik	sleek, *a.*
kau·lik	collect, *s.*
buul·ik	bullock, *s.*
mik	meek, *a.*
stuum·ick	stomach, *s.*
krik	creek, *s.*
frik	freak, *s.*
shrik, zhrik, zrik	shreak, *v.* and *s*
strik	strike, *s.* strict[illegible], *a*
sik, zik	seek, *v.*
as·ik	hassock, *s.*
stik	stuck, *v. pret.*
kau·nvik	convict, *s.*
wik	week, *s.*
skwik	squeak, *v.* and *s.*
twik	tweak, *v.* and *s.*
zik	sick, *a.*
dhingk	think, *v.*
zlingk	slink, *v.*
dringk	drink, *v. pret.*
ŭ-dring·k	drank, *p.p.*
zringk	shrink, *v.*
ee·nstingk	instinct, *s.*
wingk	winch, *s.*
zingk	sink, *v.* and *s.*
trib·l	treble, *a.*
fid·l	fiddle, *v.* and *s.*
hrid·l	riddle, *s.*
trid·l	treadle, *s.*
jing·l	jingle, *v.*
zing·l	single, *a.*
shil	shell, *v.* and *s.*
stil	steel, *v.* and *s.*
sil zil	sell, *v.*
wil	wheel, *v.* and *s.*
bit·l	beetle, *s.* (insect)
kit·l	kettle, *s.*
nit·l	nettle, *s.* little, *a.* (common)
zit·l	settle, *s.* (seat)
sil·dum	seldom, *ad.*
id·n ?	is not ?
tid·n	it is not
ŭ-bin·	been, *p.p.*

24. Short I=*i*.—*continued.*

ı	seeding, *s.* and *part.*	jùe·bis	dubious, *a.*
děen	gelding, *s.*	dis	dost? dust, *s.* desk, *s.*
	against, *ad.*	chis	chest, *s.*
in	flagon, *s.*	jis	just, *a.* and *ad.*
hin	pension, *v.* and *s.*	vaa·rjis	verjuice, *s.*
n	beacon, *s.*	kaa·rkis	carcase, *s.*
.n	seedling, *s.*	lis	enlist, *v.*
	tun, *v.*	maal·is	mallow, *s.*
	stun, *v.*	paal·is	palace, *s.*
	son, sun, *s.*	bris	breast, *s.*
un	occasion, *s.*	ris	rust, *s.* *v.* *pres.* and *pret.*
ın	lemon, *s.*		
	dozen, *s.*	kris	crust, *s.*
	sheep, *s.*	kris·tez	crusts, *s.pl.*
	flippant, *a.* (pliant)	tris	trust, *v.* and *s.*
ur	cinder, *s.*	maes·tris·	mistrust, *s.* *v.* *pres.* and *pret.*
ur	finger, *v.* and *s.*	au·vis	always, *ad.*
ı·ur	brother, *s.*	wis	worse, *a.*
ur	leisure, *s.*	yit	heat, *v.* and *s.*
·ur	pleasure, *s.*	git	get, *v.*
·ur	treasure, *s.*	vurgit·	forget, *v.*
r	liquor, *v.* and *s.*	jit	jot, *v.* and *s.*
ır	fiddler, *s.*	klit	clot, *v.* and *s.*
ur	pedlar, *s*	nit	net, nut, *s.*
lur	singular, *a.*	zit	set, *v.* sit, *v.*
ır	mellow, *a.*	jint	joint, *s.*
:	cellar, *s.*	pin·itunt	penitent, *a.*
ur	shepherd, *s.*	mid·ŭ	meadow, *s.*
r	leper, leopard, *s.*	bliv	believe, *v.*
ır	flutter, *v.* and *s.*	kridz	curds, *s.* (always)
ır	sceptre, *s.*	stil·yurdz	steelyards, *s.*
	ever, *ad.*	siz·ez	scissors, *s.*
ur	skewer, *v.* and *s.*	vij·itŭlz	vegetables, *s.*
es	justice, *s.*	zinz	since, *ad.*

25. Long OA=*oo*.

ese words seemed to me to have clear [ōa] = (*oo*), without any trace of a
quent [ŏŏ], that is, not to be the London [oa·w] = (*oo'w*). Some few
ps approach [āo] = (oo), but this was too uncertain, except when before *r*,
e to transfer them to list No. 13.—A. J. E.

	bow, *s.*	znoa	snow, *s.*
oa	elbow, *v.* and *s.*	droa	throw, *v.*
ı·	blown, *p.p.*	troa	trough, *s.*
	stone, *s.*	stroa	straw, *s.*
	dost know?	voa	foe, *s.*

25. Long OA=*oo*.—*continued.*

yoa	ewe, *s.* hew, *v.*	bluy·nvoa·l(d	blindfold, *a.*
zoa	sew, *v.*	woa·l	whole, *a.* (emph.)
stoa·ld	stole, *pret.*	zoa l(d	sold, *pret.*
oa f	off, *ad.*	zoa·l	sole, soul, *s.*
loa·k	lock, *v.* and *s.*	koa·m	comb, *v.* and *s.*
tad·loak	pad-lock, *s.*	oa·vm	oven, *s.*
smoa·k	smoke, *v.* and *s.*	kloa·vm	cloven, *a.*
voa·k	folk, *s.*	woa·vm	woven, *a.*
yoa·k	yelk, yolk, yoke	loa·lŭn	lowland, *s.*
oal·(d	old, *a*, hold, *v.*	kroa·p	creep, *v.*
boa·l(d	bold, *a.*	soa·jur	soldier, *s.*
vree·-oal(d	freehold, *a.*	koa·mur	comber, *s.*
koa·l(d	cold, *a.*	poa·lĕes	police, *s.*
skoa·l(d	scold, *v.* and *s.*	moa·ĕes	moist, *a.* most, *a.*
moa·l(d	mould, *v.* and *s.*	oa·pmŭnt	opening, *s.*
toa·l(d	told, *pret.* and *a.*	ŭ-kroa·pt	crept, *p.p.*
ŭ-stoa·l	stolen, *p.p.*	oa·v	hoe, *v.* and *s.*
voa·l(d	fold, *v.* and *s.*	loa·v	loaf, *v.*
	foal, *v.* and *s.*	groa·v	groove, *v.* and *s.*

26. Short OA=*o*.

This true short [ŏa] = (*o*) in closed syllables forms as remarkable a feature in the dialect as short [ĕe] = (i), No. 20. Some words seem to have both the long and short vowel, as [voa·ks, vŏaks] = (v*oo*ks, v*o*ks). The sign [ŏa] has been used throughout to direct attention to this rare and peculiar shortening of a vowel usually long.—A. J. E.

wŏal	whole, *a.*	hrŏap	rope, *s.*
hŏap	hope, *v.*	krŏap	creep, *v.*
slŏap	slope, *v.* and *s.*	mŏaŭt	mote, *s.*
mŏap	mope, *v.*	klŏaz	clothes, *s.*
Pŏap	Pope	vŏaks	folks

27. Fracture OA·ŭ=*oo'*.

These fractures varied slightly in the purity and length of the first element, especially before [r], so that [oa·ŭ, ao·ŭ, oaŭ·, aoŭ·] = (*oo'*, oo', *o'*, o') may be occasionally said. But I was not able to separate them into groups, and sometimes the differences seemed unintentional.—A. J. E.

noa·ŭtid	noted, *a.*	ŭ-noa·ŭd	known, *p.p.*
shoa·ŭrd	shard, *s.*	droa·ŭd	threw, *pret.*
koa·ŭrd	cord, *s.*	ŭ-groa·ŭd	grown, *p.p.*
voa·ŭrd	ford, *s.*	troa·ŭd	trod, *pret.*
woa·ŭrd	hoard, *v.* and *s.*	toa·ŭd	toad, *s.*
shoa·ŭd	showed, *pret.*	ŭ-zoa·ŭd	sown, *p.p.*
ŭ-shoa·ŭd	shown, *p.p.*	soa·ŭrtid	sorted, *a.*
bloa·ŭd	blew, *pret.*	broa·ŭch	broach, *v.*
noa·ŭd	knew, *pret.*		brooch, *s.*

27. Fracture OA·ŭ=*oo.*—*continued.*

dh	loath, *a.*	noa·ŭrt	naught, *s.*
boa·ŭn	vagabond, *s.*	poa·ŭrt	port, *s.*
ŭn	alone, *a.*	soa·ŭrt	sort, *v.* and *s.*
ŭn	throne, *s.*	goa·ŭt	goat, *s.*
n	tone, *s.*	ŭ-goa·ŭt	got, *p.p.*
ŭn	stone, *s.*	vurgoa·ŭt	forgot, *p.p.*
ir	goad, *v.* and *s.*	koa·ŭt	coat, *s.*
ŭr	shore, *s.* sure, *a.*	moa·ŭt	moat, *s.*
ŭr	more, *a.*	noa·ŭt	note, *s.*
ir	fore, before, *ad.*	droa·ŭt	throat, *s.*
ir	your, *pr.*(emph.)	oa·ŭz	hoarse, *a.*
itĕes	notice, *v.* and *s.*	doa·ŭz	doze, *v.* and *s.* dose, *s.*
	oast, *s.* host, *s.*		
s	dose, *s.*	kloa·ŭz	clothes, *s.*
ŭs	close, *a.*	noa·ŭz	nose, *s.*
t	aught, *s.*	hroa·ŭz	rose, *s.*

28. Short OE=œ.

s vowel forms another of the difficulties in this dialect. Dr. Murray iated it as [i']=(*y*). After having heard the list read several times on nt days, I adhered to my first appreciation [ŏe]=(œ) as conveying to me est general impression of the sound. But occasionally the sound [ĭ] or No. 30, seemed to be used. See *Postscript.*—A. J. E.

n·	aslant, *a.*	woev·er	however, *ad.*
ır	titter, *v.* and *s.*	kwoev·ur	quiver, *s.*
·ur	spitter, *s.*	woeth·lĕes	worthless, *a.*
r	ever, *ad.*	moes	miss, *v.*
ur	giver, *s.*	troes	trust, *v.* and *s.*
·ur	shiver, *v.* and *s.*	foet	fit, *v. s. a.*
·ur	skewer, *s.*	shoet	shalt, *v.*
ır	liver, *s.*	poet	pit, *s.*
ev·ur	deliver, *v.*	spoet	spit, *v.* and *s.*
·ur	clever, *a.*	yoet	heat, *v.* and *s.*
ur	never, *ad.*	woet	oat, *s.*
ır	sever, *v.*	skwoent	squint, *v.*

29. Long OO=uu.

s list comprises the only words which Mr. Elworthy can give, containing tured [ōo]=(uu). But this list and No. 31 serve to show that this sound absolutely strange to the dialect, as is usually thought. In almost all the the dialectal [ōo, oo·ŭ]=(uu, uu') corresponds to an original [ōa] sound.— E.

	above, *prep.*	doo·rubl	durable, *a.*
	go, *v.*	kroo·m	crumb, *s.*
	gone, *p.p.*	foo·unt	fluent, *a.* (of a river only)
ik	music, *s.*		

30. Doubtful OO', perhaps Glossic I\`, E\`O, U\`O = i_2, $ə_2$, u_2.

This list of words has occasioned me the greatest difficulty of any. Mr. Elworthy thought that the vowel was the same in all, and was surprised at any difficulty being felt. But Dr. Murray had been unable to make anything of them beyond my first rough appreciation, when I sometimes, under the influence of a labial consonant, seemed to hear [uo] = [u], at others and generally [e'] = (əh), and at others again I felt a little fracturing by a prefixed [i] = (*i*). This appreciation had been made rapidly. On the last revision some months afterwards, Mr. Elworthy pronounced each word to me several times over and in different orders, and I was able to separate them distinctly into three parts. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, when he heard some of them, at first said he heard French *eû* [oe] = (œ), and then thought that the Dutch *i* = [é] = (e^1) was the proper sound. But as this is also a Scotch sound, native to Dr. Murray, who had not recognized it, this appreciation appeared very doubtful. In deference to Mr. Elworthy's opinion that these words have all the same vowel, I retain them in one list under a sign [oo'] which is not used in Glossic, but I spell the words in three ways.

Part I. consists of those words in which the resemblance to [i] = (*i*) is most striking. In correcting the spelling of the dialectal phrases and sentences in the body of the paper, I found that Mr. Elworthy wished an accented [iz] to become occasionally an unaccented [oo'z], and on listening attentively there seemed to be nothing more than such an obscuration of [i] = (*i*) as would be effected either by raising the back of the tongue as for [i'] = (*y*), or widening the lower part of the pharynx, as for [ì] = (i_2) (see No. 22), and after much hesitation I selected the last symbol. The effect is not very different from the Dutch *i*. On examining the words in the list, it will be found that [ì] is preceded generally by a sibilant [s, sh] or by [r], or a [t], or followed by a sibilant, or [p], and possibly these consonants (chiefly unvoiced) may have driven an [èo] = ($ə_2$) sound into [ì] = (i_2).

Part II. consists of words marked [èo] = ($ə_2$) the same as in No. 23, from which I cannot distinguish them. These seem to have the normal vowel, of which [ì] is an alteration effected by the adjoining consonant, and possibly several words in this list have as much right to be put in Part I. as some of the words therein included. Most hearers would suppose these words to have [oe] or [uu] or [u] as their vowel.

Part III. consists of words where, for the most part, a labial consonant seems to have given the vowel more distinctly some of the [oo] or [uo] character. Indeed, some of these words have also the sound of [uo]. There are very few of them, which adds to the difficulty of the appreciation.

It is impossible not to recognize in this difficulty one which must have beset our early Western writers, when they did not seem to know whether to use *i* or *u* in many words, and it is possible that the whole of it arises from junctures made long ago from degraded fractures of the [eeŏŏ] = (íu) class, passing first through many degradations of both elements. As a proof of the difficulty which it occasions, it may be mentioned, that though Mr. Elworthy was wonderfully exact in his reproduction of the sounds (an unusual and difficult feat) for the first three days of my final examination of this list, yet on the fourth he became uncertain, although he had not been absent from the district so much as a week, and had been accustomed to hear the words and pronounce them from childhood. See *Postscript*.—A. J. E.

PART I.

chìm·lĕe chìm·b-lĕe	chimney, *s.*	trìm·l	tremble, *v.*
		drìl	drill, *v.* and
dhìm·l	thimble, *s.*	shrìl	shrill, *a.*
nìm·l	nimble, *a.*	trìl	trowel, *s.*
brìm·l	bramble, *s.*	vrìl	frill, *s.*

30. Doubtful OO', perhaps Glossic Iˋ, EˋO, UˋO=i_2, $ə_2$, u_2.

Part I.—*continued.*

sìmp·l	simple, *a.*
chìp	chip, *v*, and *s.*
shìp	ship, *s.*
zìp	soap, *s.* sip, *v.* and *s.*
bìlur	billow, *s.*
sìlur	cellar, *s.*
chìmur	chamber, *s.*
tìmur	timber, *s.*
sìmpur	simper, *v.* and *s.*
wìspur	whisper, *v.* and *s.*
shìltur	shelter, *s.*
wìs	whist, *s.*
jìlt	jilt, *s.*

Part II.

bèob	bib, *s.*
glèob	glib, *a.*
nèob	nib, *s.*
rèob	rib, *s.*
krèob	crib, *s.*
tèob	tib, *s.* (small beer)
skwèob	squib, *s.*
gèol·d	gild, *v.*
ŭ-shèom·d	ashamed, *a.*
zwèomd	swam, *v. pret.*
pèol·churd	pilchard, *s.*
ŭ-pèol·urd	pillowed, *a.*
gèol·tĕe	guilty, *a.*
èonsh	inch, *s.*
pèonsh	pinch, *v.* and *s.*
vèonsh	finch, *s.*
pèoch	pitch, *v.* and *s.*
mèolsh	milch, *a.*
blèom·ish	blemish, *v.* and *s.*
fèon·ish	finish, *v.*
fèol·th	filth, *s.*
fèol·trĕe	filthy, *a.*
tèolth	tilth, *s.*
dèoth	doth, *v.*
zmèoth	smith, *s.*
dèopth	depth, *s.*
pèol·ij	pillage, *v.*
tèolij	tillage, *s.*
zèol	sill, *s.*
nèop·l	nipple, *s.*
krèop·l	cripple, *s.*
pèon·ikul	pinnacle, *s.*
zwèov·l	swivel, *s.*
lèom	limb, *s.*
klèom	climb, *v.*
plèom	plim, *v.*
zlèom	slim, *a.*
stèom	stem, *s.*
rèom	rim, *s.*
brèom	brim, *s.*
grèom	grim, *a.*
prèom	prim, *a.*
trèom	trim, *v.* and *a.*
wèom	whim, *s.* winnow, *v.*
zwèom	swim, *v.*
zèom	seem, *v.*
vèolum	film, *v.*
shèol·ĕen	shilling
lèomp	limp, *a.* and *v.* and *s.*
shrèomp zhrèomp	shrimp, *s.*
krèomp	crimp, *v.*
dèop	dip, *v.* and *s.*
lèop	lip, *s.*
klèop	clip, *v.* and *s.*
slèop	slip, *v.* and *s.*
nèop	nip, *v.* and *s.*
snèop	snip, *v.* and *s.*
pèop	pip, *s.*
rèop	rip, *v.* and *s.*
drèop	drip, *v.* and *s.*
trèop	trip, *v.* and *s.*
strèop	strip, *v.*
tèop	tip, *v.* and *s.*
lèom·bur	limber, *a.*
mèom·bur	member, *s.*
Saptèom·bur	September, *s.*
Noavèom·bur	November, *s.*
pèol·fur	pilfer, *v.*

30. Doubtful OO', perhaps Glossic I, E'O, U'O=i_2, $ə_2$, u_2.

Part II.—*continued.*

pèol·ur	pillar, pillow, *s.*	krèops	crisp, *a.*
pèop·lur	poplar, *s.*	èolt	hilt, *s.*
skrèob·lur	scribbler, *s.*	bèolt	built, *pret.*
pèop·er	pepper, *s.*	gèolt	gilt, guilt, *s.*
krèopur	crupper, *s.*	mèolt	milt, *s.* (spleen)
fèoltur	filter, *v.* and *s.*	spèolt	spilt, *a.*
skrèoptur	scripture	tèolt	tilt, *v.* and *s.*
spèotur	spitter (spud), *s.*	kwèolt	quilt, *s.*
zèolvur	silver, *s.*	bèol·yŭrdz	billiards, *s.*

Part III.

fŭol·ij	village, *s.*	wŭom·ĕen	women, *s.*
vŭol·ij			winnnowing
pŭol·gurmij	pilgrimage, *s.*	wŭon	one, *s.* (are)
mŭolk	milk, *s.*	wŭop	whip, *v.* and *s.*
sŭolk	silk, *s.*	vŭol·ivaer	fieldfare, *s.*
wŭom·l	wimble, *s.*	vŭol·vae·rĕe	
wŭol	will, *v.* and *s.*	pŭor·ĕemunt	pyramid, *s.*
wŭomp·l	wimple, *s.*	pŭol·ĕemunt	
		wŭol·ŭ	willow

31. Fracture OO·ŭ=uu'.

See note to No. 29.

boo·ŭrd	board, *v.* and *s.*	oo·ŭr	ore, oar, *s.*
boo·boo·ŭrd	above-board, *a.*	boo·ŭr	boar, *s.* bore, *v.* and *s.*
zoo·ŭrd	sword, *s.*		
loo·ŭd	load, *ad.*	koo·ŭr	cure, *v.* and *s.*
ŭbroo·ŭd	abroad, *ad.*	saikoo·ŭr	secure, *v.* and *a.*
hroo·ŭd	road, *s.*	moo·ŭr	more, *a.*
too·ŭd	toad, *s.*	zoo·ŭr	sore, *a.*
boo·ŭth	both, *a.*	stoo·ŭr	store, story, *s.*
voo·ŭth	forth, *ad.*	foo·ŭs(t	force, *v.* and *s.*
goo·ŭl	gold, *s.*	boo·ŭs(t	boast, *v.* and *s.*
zoo·ŭl	sull, *s.* (plough)	goo·ŭs(t	ghost, *s.*
boo·ŭn	bone, *s.*	koo·ŭs(t	coast, *s.*
hroo·ŭp	rope, *s.*	roo·ŭs(t	roast, *v.* and *s.*
zoo·ŭp	soap, *s.*	poo·ŭs(t	post, *v.* and *s.* (letter only)
voo·ŭt	vote, *v.* and *s.*		
	devote, *v.*	too·ŭs(t	toast, *v.* and *s.*
koo·ŭch	coach, *s.*	koo·ŭrt	court, *v.* and *s.*
hroo·ŭch	roach, *s.*	traan·spoo·ŭrt	transport, *v.*
voo·ŭrj	forge, *s.*	spoo·ŭrt	sport, *v.* and *s.*
poo·ul	pole, *s.*	soo·ŭrt	sort, *v.* and *s.*
voo·ŭm	foam, *v.* and *s.*	boo·ŭt	boat
stoo·ŭn	stone, *s.*		

32. Short U=ə.

This list consists of two parts. The five words in Part I. had been referred to [u'] = (ɐ), as an indistinct [uu] = (ɜ), but they sounded to me just like my own [u] = (ə), which I employ, and seem to hear usually in literary English, instead of [uu] = (ɜ). See No. 37. On the other hand, [ì] or [èo] = (i_2, $ə_2$) may be the more correct form.

Part II. consists of words ending in unaccented syllables containing an "obscure" vowel, which, if not [u] = (ə), was not distinguishable from it by me. This short [u] has often been written [ŭ] by Mr. Elworthy, especially when not in a closed syllable. Although unnecessary, this short mark has been generally retained.—A. J. E.

PART I.

shuf	shift, *s.*	stuf	stiff, *a.*
kluf	cliff, *s.* cleft, *a.*	slum	slim, *a.*
druf	drift, *s.* draft, *s.* draught, *s.*		

PART II.

un	him, *pro.*	mae·ŭzmunt	amazement, *s.*
keen·durd	kindred, *s.*	kee·ŭzmunt	casement, *s.*
kau·nsĕekuns	consequence, *s.*	vurtuy·zmunt	advertisement
an·shunt	ancient	bae·ŭtmunt	abatement, *s.*
paer·shunt	patient	saa·rpunt	serpent, *s.*
kaun·sĕekunt	consequent, *a.*	aar·unt	errand, *s.*
frai·kunt	frequent, *a.*	fuur·unt	foreign, *a.*
vuy·lunt	violent, *a.*	dai·sunt	decent, *a.*
ee·mplĕemunt	implement, *s.*	kuur·sunt	crescent, *s.*
gree·munt	agreement, *s.*	pin·ĕetunt	penitent, *a.*
prai·chmunt	preachment, *s.*	pae·ŭtunt	patent, *a.* and *s.*
kroa·ŭchmunt	encroachment	saa·rvunt	servant, *s.*
fraash·munt	refreshment, *s.*	praz·unt	present, *s.*
paa·ymunt	payment, *s.*	vùol·burt	filbert, *s.*
sid·ĕemunt	sediment, *s.*	kaum·furt	comfort, *s.*
raa·ymunt	raiment, *s.*	faak·ut	faggot, *s.*
maun·imunt	monument, *s.*	jaak·ut	jacket, *s.*
jij·munt	judgment, *s.*	raak·ut	racket, *s.*
uur·jmunt	regiment, *s.*	braak·ut	bracket, *s.*
lauj·munt	lodgement, *s.*	juung·kut	junket, *s.*
gee·ŭjmunt	engagement, *s.*	thik·ut	thicket, *s.*
jaak·munt	ejectment, *s.*	spik·ut	spigot, *s.*
aa·ylmunt	ailment, *s.*	wik·ut	wicket, *s.*
tang·lmunt	entanglement, *s.*	maa·rkut	market, *s.*
suy·nmunt	signature, *s.*	tring·kut	trinket, *s.*
oa·pmunt	opening, *s.*	rauk·ut	rocket, *s.*
kunsaa·rnmunt	concernment, *s.*	lauk·ut	locket, *s.*
mizh·urmunt	measurement, *s.*	pauk·ut	pocket, *s.*
kweet·munt	acquittance, *s.*	sauk·ut	socket, *s.*
laut·munt	allotment, *s.*	buuk·ut	bucket, *s.*

32. Short U=ə. Part II.—*continued.*

saal·ut	salad, *s.*	fuur·ut	ferret, *s.*
vaal·ut	valet, *s.*	wuur·ut	wherret, *v.*
drib·lut	dribblet, *s.*	suut	soot, *s.*
hring·lut	ringlet, *s.*	uur·sut	russet, *a.* an[illegible] *s.*
uy·lut	eyelet, *s.*	kraav·ut	cravat, *s.*
bil·ut	billet, *s.*	zaa·put	sawpit, *s.*
waul·ut	wallet, *s.*	aa·rmput	armpit, *s.*
buul·ut	bullet, *s.*	tŭ	too, to, *ad. prep.*
puul·ut	pullet, *s.*	zŭ	so, *ad.*
uul·mut	helmet, *s.*	aar·u	arrow, *s.*
bag·unut	bayonet, *s.*		harrow, *v.* and *s.*
uur·nut	rennet, *s.*	bar·u	barrow, *s.* and *a.*
au·rnut	hornet, *s.*	mar·u	marrow, *s.*
puut	put, *v.*		morrow, *s.*
pau·put	puppet, *s.*	spaar·u	sparrow, *s.*
puul·put	pulpit, *s.*	shad·u	shadow, *s.*
tuup·ut	tippet, *s.*	mid·u	meadow, *s.*
kaar·ut	carrot, *s.*		

33. Short UA=œ.

These few words seem to contain a very difficult vowel, but it may be merely the action of this [dur], or perhaps more properly [‚du.r]=(ᴅəʀ) final. Dr. Murray assigned [ua]=(œ), and I have retained his appreciation for want of a better. But I hesitated between [o']=(ɔh) and [uu]=(ɐ), and the latter is not far off the sound. The [d] is here very peculiar, as in the word [tae·ŭdĕez] =(tᴇᴇ'·diz), referred to in a note on the text. See *Postscript.*—A. J. E.

buad·ur	butter, *s.*	shuad·ur	shutter, *s.*
guad·ur	gutter, *v.* and *s.*	muad·ur	mutter, *v.* and *s.*
kuad·ur	cutter, *s.*	spuad·ur	sputter, *v.* and *s.*

34. Long U'E=y_2y_2.

This is generally considered as the French *u*=[ue]=(yy) long, but both Dr. Murray and myself, acting upon the previous experience of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, consider it to be an obscure and deep variety of this sound, produced probably by widening the lower part of the pharynx, and hence properly expressed by (y_2). Compare No. 22. See *Postscript.*—A. J. E.

chùe·b	tube, *s.*	blùe	blue, *a.*
kùe·b	cube, *v.* and *s.*	flùe, vlùe	flue, *s.*
stùep·ĕed	stupid, *a.*	glùe	glue, *s.*
ŭ-dùe·d	done, *p.p.*	slùe	slough, *s.*
ùe	who? *pr.*	nùe	new, *a.*
bùe	view, *s.*	vuy·ur-nùe·	bran-new, *ad.*
dùe	do, *v.* (*emph.*)	pyùe	pew, *s.*
shùe	shoe, *v.* and *s.*	spùe	spue, *v.*
Jùe	Jew, *s.*	rùe	row, *v.* and *s.*
kùe	cue, *s.*		(of hay)
lùe	lee, *a.*	drùe	through, *ad.*

34. Long U`E=y_2y_2.—*continued.*

krùe	crew, *s.*	yùes	use, *s.*
Sùe	Sue (Susan)	dĕes·pùe·t	dispute, *s.*
tùe	to, *prep.* (*emph.*) two, too	sùe·t	suit, *v.* and *s.*
		ùe·z	whose, *pr. v.*
stùe	stew, *v.* and *s.*	bùe·z	abuse, *v.*
vùe	few, *a.*	rai·fùe·z	refuse, *s.*
yùe·zhl	usual, *a.*	mùe·z	amuse, *v.* moss, *s.*
skùe·faa·rshĕen	askew, *ad.*		
chùe·n	tune, *s.*	nùe·z	news, *s.*
dùe·s	deuce, *s.*	yùe·z	use, *v.*
purjùe·s	produce, *v.*	krùe·el	cruel
sprùes	spruce, *s.*	kùe·urt	court, *v.* and *s.*

35. Short U`E=y_2.

These three words seem to have the short sound of [ùe], but they may rather belong to [ĭ]. The sound is so short and squeezed that it is very difficult to appreciate it. See *Postscript.*—A. J. E.

jùek	duke, *s.*
zùep	sweep, *v. pres.* and *pret.*
ŭ-zùep·	swept, *p.p.*

36. Short UO=*u*.

These words were pronounced with a true [uo]=(*u*), but it will be seen that 'pepper' and 'whip' are also found in No. 30, Parts II. and III., and it is at least very likely that [zuok] may occasionally have the same sound. The smallness of the number of words in both [uo] and [ùo], No. 30, makes the separation of the two sounds rather doubtful.—A. J. E.

zuok	suck, *v.*	wuop	whip, *v.* and *s.*
yuok	yoak, *s.* yoke, *s.* yolk, *s.*	zuok·ur	sucker, *s.*
		puop·ur	pepper, *v.* and *s.*

37. Short UU=ⱻ.

In almost all forms of English, the vowels in the accented and unaccented syllables of such a word as *husband*, differ. In the literary dialect they are as in [huz·bu'nd] or [huuz·bu'nd]=(ʜəz·bɐnd) or (ʜⱻz·bɐnd), but in the dialects they are mostly distinguished as in [huuz·bund]=(ʜhⱻz·bənd), or, as in the present case, as in [uuz·bun]=(ⱻz·bən). In Mr. Elworthy's dialectal pronunciation the [uu] was very marked. This is a very "thick" sound, and much resembles [ŏa]=(*o*); indeed, the latter is often taken for the former, as it only differs from it by the rounding of the lips.—A. J. E.

tuur·ŭ	turf, *s.*	buur·ndŭld	brindled, *a.*
kuurb	curve, *s.*	guur·zŭld	grizzled, *a.*
uub	ebb, *v.* and *s.*	buur·nd	burnt, *a.*
ruub	rob, *v.*	ŭ-buur·nd	burnt, *p.p.*
wuub	web, *s.*	uurd	red, *a.* rid, *v.*
kau·bwuub·	cobweb, *s.*	buurd	bread, *s.*
kuus·ĕed	cursed, *a.*	wuul·buu·rd	well-bred, *a.*

37. Short UU=ɜ.—*continued.*

dhuur·ubuu·rd	thoroughbred, *a.*
uun·durd	hundred, *a.*
dhuurd	third, *a.*
druung·kurd	drunkard, *s.*
vuul·urd	fallowed, *v.pret.*
wuurd	hoard, *v.* and *s.* word, *s.*
buud	bud, *v.* and *s.* but, *conj.* (before a vowel)
uuf·ŭd	hoofed, *a.*
tuung·ŭd	tongued, *a.*
skuud	scab, (on a wound)
kyat-uuk·ŭd	cat-hocked, *a.*
zlai·pŭd	slept (*emphatic pret.*)
hrat·ŭd	rotted, *a.*
spuur·ĕetŭd	spirited, *a.*
thuus·tĕe	thirsty, *a.*
tuut·ĕe	potato, *s.*
uuf	hoof, *s.*
shuuf	shift, *s.*
skruuf	scurf, *s.*
druug	drag, *v.* and *s.*
buurch	breech, *v.* and *s.*
kuurch	crutch, *s.*
puur·ĕesh	perish, *v.*
buulsh	belch, *v.* and *s.*
buursh	brush, *v.* and *s.*
kuursh	crush, *v.* and *s.*
uulth	health, *s.*
wuulth	wealth, *s.*
twuulth	twelfth, *a.*
suur·inj	syringe, *v.* and *s.*
fuur·nj	fringe, *v.* and *s.*
kuur·nj	cringe, *v.* and *s.*
uurj	ridge, *s.*
guurj	grudge, *v.* and *s.*
uursk	risk, *v.* and *s.*
uuk	hock, *s.* (of horse)
kauy·duuk	decoy duck, *s.*
kau·nduuk	conduct, *s.*
chuuk	choke, *v.*
ŭ-chuuk(t	choked, *p.p.*
tuuk	tusk, *s.*
tuur·bl	terrible, *a.*

buur·ndl	brindle
buur·dl	burl, *v.*[1]
guur·dl	grill, *v.* girl, *s.*
kuur·dl	curl, *v.* and *s.*
puur·dl	pearl, *v.* perl, *v.*
vuur·dl	furl, *v.* ferule, *s.*
wuur·dl	world, *s.* whirl, *v.*
twuur·dl	twirl, *v.*
skwuur·dl	squirrel, *s.*
fuum·l	fumble, *v.*
muum·l	mumble, *v.*
tuum·l	tumble, *v.*
buun·l	bundle
buul	belle, *s.* bell, *s.*
rai·buul·	rebel, *v.*
duul	dull, *a.*
kuul	cull, *v.* and *s.*
muur·ikl	miracle, *s.*
smuul	smell, *s.*
nuul	knell, *s.*
jin·ŭl	general, *a.*
spuul	spell, *v.* and *s.*
uur·ul(d	herald, *v.* and *s.*
vuur·ul	ferule, *s.*
tuul	tell, *v.*
siv·ŭl	several, *a.*
wuul	well, *a.* *ad.* *s.*
dwuul	dwell, *v.*
zwuul	swell, *v.*
zuul	self, *pr.*
eezzuu·l	himself, *pr.*
uur·ĕen	herring, *s.*
fuurm	firm, *a.* form, *s.* (bench)
buum	bung, *s.*
dhuum	thumb, *s.*
uul ŭm	elm, *s.* halm, *s.*
ruul·ŭm	realm, *s.*
oa·vur-wuul·ŭm	over-whelm, *v.*
dhuum	thrumb, *s.*
buuz·um	bosom, *s.*
puud·n	pudding, *s.*
buuz·gĕen	buskin, *s.*
kuur·shĕen	cushion, *s.*
dwuul·ĕen	dwelling, *s.*
kruub·chain	curb-chain, *s.*
zwuul·ĕen	swelling, *s.*

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[1] See page 4.

37. Short UU=ɜ.—*continued.*

ır·sněen	christening, *s.*
ır·ěen	hearing, *s.*
·n	run, *v.*
urn	iron, *s.*
urn	mourn, *v.*
›·urn	apron, *s.*
.ul·itn	skeleton, *s.*
;·bun	husband
l·un	felon
n·un	woman, *s.*
.n	urn, *s.*
ın	yon, *ad.*
yuun·	beyond, *prep.*
ır·mzn	crimson, *s.*
p	help, *v.* and *s.*
ump	pump, *v.* and *s.*
.g·kurp	bankrupt, *s.*
.ur·up	chirp, *v.*
ır·up	stirrup, *s.*
nudee·ŭr	grenadier, *s.*
·fmdur	carpenter, *s.*
ır·dur	further, *ad.*
ug·ur	sugar, *s.*
lh·ur	either, *a.*
al·ur	shallow, *a.*
ıdh·ur	neither, *a.*
lur	tallow, *s.*
r·klur	circular, *a.*
ım·l-lur	mumbler, *s.*
m·l-lur	tumbler
ıul·ur	swallow, *v.*
l·ur	bellow, *v.*
l·ur	fellow, *s.*
dfuul·ur	bedfellow, *s.*
ıl·ur	mellow, *a.*
l·ur	felloe, *s.* fallow, *s.* and *a.*
m·ur	humour, *v.* and *s.*
nur	good, now !
ı·ur	funeral, *s.*
n·pur	temper, *s.*
r·ditur	creditor, *s.*
ıl·tur	shelter, *s.*
ul·tur	smelter, *s.*
ıl·tur	spelter, *s.*
ıl·tur	welter, *s.*
ȝ·ěestur	druggist, *s.*
r	fur, *s.* fir, *s.*

kuuv·ur	cover, *v.* and *s.* covert, *s.*
wuur	whether where, *ad.*
yuur	hear, here, ear, year, your
guur·duy·ŭr	gridiron, *s.*
zuur	sir
puuŗ·ntĕes	apprentice
uuls	else, *a.* and *pron.*
mèom·burns	remembrance, *s.*
kaum·burns	encumbrance, *s.*
daef·urns	difference, *s.*
een·dŭrns	hindrance, *s.*
hig·n-urns	ignorance, *s.*
puurns	prince, *s.*
taem·purns	temperance
dailiv·urns	deliverance
riv·urns	reverence, *s.*
uur·dŭns	riddance, *s.*
puur·tnuns	pertinance, *s.*
dĕesturv·uns	disturbance, *s.*
gruuts, guurts	groats
buus	burst, *v.* and *s.* *pres.* and *pret.*
fuus	first, *s.*
aum·ligus	omnibus
kuus	curse, *s.*
thuus(t	thirst
muus	must, *v.*
Kan·lmus	Candlemas
Kuur·smus	Christmas
nuus	nurse, *s.*
puus	purse, *s.*
brak·sus	breakfast, *v.*, *s.*
spuur·ĕet	spirit, *s.*
buurnt	brunt, *s.*
fuurnt	affront, *v.*
daef·urnt	different, *a.*
guurnt	grunt, *v.*
puurnt	print, *v.* and *s.*
vuurnt	front, *s.*
guurt	great, *a.*
udhuur·t	athwart, *ad.*
huurt	wort, *s.* (berry)
smuurt	smart, *a.*
dai·zurt	desert, *s.*
mag·ut	maggot, *s.*

37. Short UU=ɪ.—*continued.*

shuut	shoot, *v. pres.* and *pret.* also *s.*	buur·chez	breeches, *s.*
		druugz	dregs, *s.*
ŭ-shuut·	shot, *p.p.*	wuur·daap·lz	hoard-apples
twuulv	twelve, *a.*	skwuur·yulz	skittles, *s.*
dĕes·tuurv·	disturb, *v.*	dhurzuul·z	themselves, *pr.*
muuv	move, *v.* and *s.*	uul·durz	elders, *s.*
ruuv	roof, *v.* and *s.*	uurz	hers, *pr.* she is, *v.*
juubz	jobs, *s.*		
vuur·wurdz	forwards, *ad.*	gyaal·ipurz	gallopers, *s.*

38. Diphthong UW=ə′*u*.

This is the literary diphthong [uw] = (ə′*u*), but there is a slight tendency to make the first element a little longer; the sound, however, does not reach [u·w, e’·w] = (əə′*u*, əəh′*u*), and is not at all the same as [uuw] = (ɪ′*u*).—A. J. E.

mai·lĕe-muw·dhid	mealy-mouthed	struwt	strut, *v.* and *s.* (also prop)
muw·dh	mouth, *s.*	buw	bow, *v.* bough, *s.*
zuwdh	south, *s.*	chuw	chew, *v.*
uw·zl	household, *s.*, *a.*	luw	allow, *v.*
juwl	jole, *s.*	kluw	claw, *s.*
dhuw·zun	thousand	zuw	sow, *s.*
vuw·lur	fowler, *s.*	uwz	house, *s.*
duws(t	dust, *s.*	muwz	mouse, *s.*
kluwt	clout, *s.*	duw·st-uw·z	dust-house (chaff-house)
stuwt	stout, *a.*		

39. Diphthongal Fracture UW·ŭ=ə′*u*’.

This fracture seems to occur before [l] only. Before [r] the diphthong changes to [aaw·] = (ǻ*u*), see No. 4.

shuw·ŭl	shovel, *v.* and *s.*
vuw·ŭl	foul, *a.* fowl, *s.* vowel, *s.*

40. Diphthong UY=ə′*i*.

This is also the literary fine long ī; it does not become [u·y, e’·y] = (əə′*i*, əəh′*i*) in this dialect, but these forms are heard in East Somerset. It is quite distinct also from either [uuy] = (ɪ′*i*) on the one hand, or [aay·, aa·y] = (ǻ*i*, ǻa*i*) on the other, and hence is kept quite clear of both No. 18 and No. 5 or 6.—A. J. E.

uy	eye, *s.*	zluyd	slide, *v.* and *s.* sledge, *s.*
duy	die, dye, *v.* and *s.*		
tuur·ifuy	terrify, *v.*	ŭ-zluy·d	slid, *p.p.*
ŭ-luy·	lain, *p.p.*	vluyd	flew, *v.* (*pret.*)
bruyb	bribe, *v.* and *s.*	hruyd	ride, *v.* and *s.*
truyb	tribe, *s.*	struyd	stride, *v.* and *s.*
skruyb	scribe, *v.*	dai·d-luy·vurd	deadalive, *a.*
uyd	hide, *v.* and *s.*	ŭ-muy·ndud	minded (in the mind to), *a.*
ŭ-uy·d	hidden, *p.p.*		
ŭ-duy(d	dyed, *p.p.* and *a.*	tuydh	tithe, *v.* and *s.*

40. Diphthong UY=ə′*i*.—*continued.*

h	height, *s.*
y·dl	bridle, *v.* and *s.*
k	like, *v.* and *a.*
luy·k	belike, *ad.*
·dluyk	hardly, *ad.*
·wurdluyk	inwardly, *a.*
·dluyk	godly, *a.*
·ch-luyk	richly, rich, *ad.* and *a.*
·l-luyk	singly, *ad.*
·l-luyk	coolly, *ad.*
m·luyk	dimly, *ad.*
·n-luyk	thinly, *ad.*
·ur-luyk	sorely, *ad.*
·sluyk	coarsely, *ad.*
ŭt-luyk	lately, *ad.*
d·unt-luyk	suddenly
··z-baul	fives-ball, *s.*
-uy·n-an·	behindhand, *a.*
··gin	begging, *s.*
·lin	tiling, *s.*
y·tin	writing, *s.*
lun	island, highland
	hind, *s.*
·n	bind, *v.* and *s.*
lbuyn	woodbine, *s.*
n	fine, *a.*
yn	chimb, *s.* chine, *v.* and *s.*
·n(d	kind, *a.*
yn(d	mind, *v.* and *s.*
·n	pen, *s.* (cattle pen)
yn	spine, *s.*
ym	rime, *v.* and *s.*
yn(d	rind, *v.* and *s.*

truyn, twuyn	twine, *v.*
vuyn	fine, *a.* find, *v.* and *s.*
wuyn	wind, *v.*
hruyp	ripe, *a.*
truyp	tripe, *s.*
wuyp	wisp, *s.*
vuy·ndur	finder, *s.*
suy·fur	cipher, *v.* and *s.*
buy·gur	beggar, *s.*
vruy·tur	writer, *s.*
uys	hoist, *v*, and *s.* ice, *s.*
juys	joist, *s.* (*sing.* and *plur.*)
tuys	entice, *v.*
vuys	fist, *s.*
vruyt	write, *v.* right, wright, *a.* and *v.*
puynt	pint, *s.* point, (rarely)
vuy·lunt	violet, *s.* violent, *a.*
duy·munt	diamond, *s.*
luyv	life, *s.*
ŭluy·v	alive, *a.*
nuyv	knife, *s.*
struyv	strive, *v.*
wuyv	wife, *s.*
vruy	fry, *v.* and *s.*
vuy·stez	fists, *s.*
suy·zez	assizes, *s.*
uyz	eyes, *s.*
vuyz	advise, *v.* fives, *s.*
suyvz	chives, *s.*

41. Diphthongal Fracture UY·ŭ=ə′*i*’.

efore [l] and [ͅr] a fracture arises as usual, but the [ͅr] does not convert [uy] [aay]. Compare Nos. 4 and 7.—A. J. E.

y·ŭlduuk	wild duck
·ŭl	pile, *v.* and *s.*
y·ŭl	mild, *a.*
y·ŭld	mile, *s.*
·ŭl	tile, *v.* and *s.*
·ŭl	viol, *s.* file, *v.* and *s.* phial, *s.*
y·ŭl	while, *ad.* wild, *a.*

uy·ŭr	iron, *s.* hire, *v.* and *s.*
muy·ŭr	admire, *v.*
een·tuyŭr	entire, *a.*
vruy·ŭr	friar, *s.*
vuy·ŭr	fire, *v.* and *s.*
kwuy·ŭr	require, *v.*
zuy·ŭr	desire, *v.*
kwuy·ŭt	quiet, *a.*

42. Diphthong UUY=ɪ'*i*.

This is full [uuy], very nearly [oay] = (*ói*), and confused constantly with [auy] = (ʌ'*i*). It occurs only after [w], or rather in the fractural triphthong [wuuy] = (uɪ'*i*), which is again fractured before [l], as in [bwuuyŭl] = (buɪ'*i*'l).
—A. J. E.

bwuuy	boy, *s.*
bwuuyŭl	boil, *v.*
spwuuyŭl	spoil, *v.*
bwuuy·lĕen	boiling, *s.*
gèo·d-bwuuy·	good-bye
pwuuy·zn	poison, *v.* and *s.*
bwuuy·lur	boiler, *s.*

III.—Consonants.

In the following lists the words are arranged in the alphabetical order of the ordinary spelling, reckoning from the beginning of the word. The numbering of the lists, for the sake of reference, continues that of the vowel lists. The consonants treated are those which are specially related to consonants in the literary dialect.

43. F initial retained.

It is commonly supposed that in Somersetshire every initial [f, s, th] is changed into [v, z, dh]. This is far from being the case. The words in this list never change [f] into [v]. It will be observed that they are almost all of foreign origin.

fable	fae·ŭbl, *s.*
face	fae·ŭs, *v.* and *s.*
facia	fae·ŭshur, *s.*
fact	faak, *s.* and *v.*
factory	faak·turĕe
fade	fae·ŭd, *v.*
fail	faa·yŭl, *v.*
failing	faa·ylĕen *pres.*
fain, *a.*, feign, *v.*	faa·yn [*part.*
faint	faa·ynt, *v.* and *s.*
fair, *s.* and *a.* fare, *s.*	fae·ŭr
faith	faa·th
faithful	faa·ythfèol, *a.*
false	fau·ls, faa·ls, *a.*
fame	fae·ŭm, *s.*
family	faam·lĕe, *s.*
farm	faa·rm, *v.* and *s.*
farmer	faa·rmur, *s.*
farrier	faar·yur, *s.*
ferry	fuur·ĕe, *s.*
fashion	faa·rshĕen, *s.*
fast, *s.*, feast, *s.*	fĕe·ŭs
fate	fae·ŭt, *s.*
fated	fae·ŭtid, *a.*
faucet	fau·sut, *s.*
fault	fau·ŭt, *v.* and *s.*
faultless	fau·tlĕes, *a.*
faulty	fau·tĕe, *a.*
fawn (young deer)	fau·ŭn, *s.*
favour	fae·ŭvur, *v.* and *s.*
feature	fai·chur, *s.*
February	Fìb·urĕe, *s.*
fee	fee, *v.* and *s.*
feeble	fai·bl, *a.*
felon, villain	fuul·un, *s.*
felony, villainy	fuul·unĕe, *s.*
fellow	fuul·ur, *s.*
female	fai·mae·ŭl, *a.*, *s.*
fence	fai·ns, *v.* and *s.*
ferment	furmai·nt, *v.*
ferret	fuur·ut, *s.*
fever	fai·vur, *s.*
fidgit	faej·ut, *v.* and *s.*
fife	fuyf, *s.*
figure	fig·ur, *s.*
figure (to cypher)	fig·urĕe, *v.*
affiliate	fìl·ĕe-ae·ŭt, *v.*
filter	fìl·tur, *v.* and *s.*

43. F initial retained.—*continued.*

filth	fìl·trĕe
fine	fuyn, *v.* and *a.*
finery	feuy·nurĕe, *s.*
finish	fìn·ĕesh, *v.*
firm, *a.* fōrm, *s.* (bench)	fuurm
fit, *a.* and *s.*	fìt
fitch, (polecat) *s.*	fìch
fix, *v.* and *s.*	faeks
flame, fleam, *s.*	flae·ŭm
flask, *s.*	flăas
flat, *a.*	flăat
flippant, *a.* (pliant, elastic)	flìp
Florey, *p.n.* (Combe-Withiel)	Fluur·ĕe
flue, *s.*	flùe
fluent, *a.* (running quickly, of a river only)	foo·unt
flute, *s.*	flùe·t
forage, *v.* and *s.*	fau·rĕej
force, *v.* and *s.*	foo·ŭs
foreign, *a.*	fuur·ĕen, fuur·unt
forest, *s.*	fau·rĕes
fortune, *s.*	fau·rtĕen
foundation, *s.*	fuwndae·ŭrshun
fountain	fuwn·tĕen
fracas, *s.*	frae·ŭkus
fraction, *s.*	fraak·shun
fractious, *a.*	fraak·shus
frail, *a.*	fraa·yŭl
frame, *v.* and *s.*	frae·ŭm
Frank	Frangk
fray, *v.*	fraa·y
freak, *s.*	frik
frequent, *a.* and *ad.*	frai·kŭnt
frill, *v.* and *s.*	frìl
front, *s.*, affront, *v.* and *s.*	furn(t
fruit, *s.*	frùe·t
fried-potatoes, *s.*	fruy·tae·ŭdĕez
fuller's earth, *s.*	fuul·urzath
fundament, *s.*	fuun·dĕemun(t
furnace, *s.*	fuur·nĕes
fusty, *a.*	fuws·tĕe

44. F and V initial both used occasionally.

In the following list the [f] is always retained when the word is emphatic, and generally in the words forming Part I. it is more common than [v], but in the other words [v] is more common than [f]. So far as I could make out, the words really began in all cases with [fv], as [fvee·ŭ˛r] = (fvii'ʀ), that is, the voice of [v] was not commenced as soon as the position was assumed, and hence a faint [f] was heard before it. This is like [sz] in the German *sie* = [szee] = (szii), and in all German words beginning with *s*. In the English finals, when no vowel or consonant follows, the reverse process takes place, as "it is *his*" = [it·iz ·hizs] = (*it*·*iz* ʜh*i*zs). In both cases it is assumed that [z] only is pronounced, thus [zee, hiz], because the voice is so much more powerful than the hiss, that the latter is unobserved. This I believe to be the case with the Somersetshire initials [fv, sz, shzh, thdh]. But when much emphasis is laid on the word the hiss is driven out so sharp as to predominate, and hence the buzz is not observed, and [f, s, sh, th] alone are recognized.—A. J. E.

PART I.

Generally [f], *sometimes* [v].

fat, *a.* and *s.*	faat, vaat
father, *s.*	faa·dhur vaa·dhur
fear, *v.* and *s.*	fee·ŭr, vee·ŭr
fiddle, *v.* and *s.*	fid·l, vid·l
fight, *v.* *s.*	fai·t, vai·t
fig, *s.*	fig, vig
forty, *a.*	fau·rtĕe vau·rtĕe
fox, *s.*	fau·ks, vau·ks
fumble, *v.*	fuum·l, vuum·l

44. F and V initial both used occasionally.—*continued.*

Part II.

Generally [v], *sometimes* [f].

afraid, *a.*	ŭvee·ŭrd ŭfee·ŭrd
felt, *s.*	vuult, fuult
fester, *v.* and *s.*	vas·tur, fas·tur
figgy-pudding, *s.* (always used for plum pudding)	vig·ĕe puud·n, fig·ee puud·n
first, *a.*	vuus, fuus
fish, *s.*	vee·sh, fee·sh
flannel, *s.*	vlan·ĕen, flan·ĕen
fling, *v.*	vling, fling
forge, *v.*	voa·ŭrj, foa·ŭrj
fret, *v.*	vraet, fraet
fringe, *s.*	vuurnj, fuurnj
fry, *v.*	vruy, fruy

45. F initial becomes invariably V.

fag	vaa·g, *v.*
fall	vaa·l, *v.* and *s.*
fallow	vuul·ur, *v.* *s.*
fan	van, *s.*
fang	vang, *s.*
far	vaa·r, *a.*
farther	vaa·rdur, *ad.*
farthest	vaa·rdĕest, *a.*
far-fetched	vuur·vau·t, *a.*
farrow	vaar·ĕe, *v.* vaa·rth, *s.*
farthing	vaa·rd-n, *s.*
fast	vaa·s, *a.* and *ad.*
fathom	vadh·um, *s.*
fawning	vau·nin
fearless	veeŭr·lĕes, *a.*
feather	vaedh·ur, *s.*
feeling	vee·ŭlĕen, *s.*
feet	vĕet, *s.*
fell	vuul, *v.* (in sewing)
felloe	vuul ur, *s.*
fennel	vin·ul, *s.*
fern	vee·urn, *s.*
ferule	vuur·ŭl, vuur·dl, *s.*
fetch	vaach, *v.*
fetlock	vaet·lauk, *a.*
few	vùe, *a.*
field	vee·ŭl, *s.*
fieldfare	vee·ŭl-vaer, *s.*
file	vaay·ŭl, *v.* and *s.*
filbert	vìl·burt, *s.*
fill	vee·ŭl, *v.*
film	vìl·um, *s.*
fin	vee·n, *s.*
goldfinch	goo·lvraensh, *s.*
find	vuyn, *v.*
finger	ving·ur, *s.*
fir	vuur, *s.*
fire	vuy·ŭr, *s.*
firing	vaay·ŭrĕen, *s.*
firkin	vuur·kĕen, *s.*
fish	vee·sh, *s.*
fist	vuys, *s.*
five	vuyv, *s.*
fives	vuyz, *s.*
flag	vlag, *s.*
flail	vlaa·yŭl, *s.*
flagon	vlag·ĕen, *s.*
flange	vlanj, *s.*
flank	vlangk, *s.*
flaw, *s.* flare, *v.*	vlae·ŭr
flax	vlaeks, *s.*
flea	vlai, *s.*
fledged	ŭ-vlaej, *p.p.*
fleece	vlee·z, *s.*
flesh	vlaa·rsh, *s.*
flew	vluyd, *v. pret.*
flitch	vleech, *s.*
fling	vling, *v.*
flint	vlaent, *s.*
flock	vlok, *s.*

45. F initial becomes invariably V.—*continued.*

	vlog, *v.*	fowl	vuw·ŭl, *s.*
r	vloor, *s.*	fright	vruyt, *s.*
r	vloa, *s.*	fro'	vroa, *prep.*
r	vlaw·ŭr, *s.*	frolick	vrau·lik, *s.*
d	vlìd, *s.*	froth	vrau·th, *s.*
h	vlìsh, *a.*	frost	vrau·s(t, *s.*
ter	vlìtur, *v.*	further	vuur·dur, *ad.*
	vluy, *v.*	found	vuwn, *v. pret.*
	voa·l, *s.*	four	vaaw·ŭr, *a.*
n	voa·m, *s.*	free	vree, *a.*
	vog, *s.*	freehold	vree·ŏal, *a.*
	voa·l, *s.* and *v.*	freeze	vree·z, *v.*
s	vŏak·s, *s. p.*	frost	vrau·s, *s.*
	vèot, *s.*	fresh	vraash, *a.*
	vau·r (emph.)	Friday	Vruy·dĕe, *s.*
	vŭur, *prep.*	friend	vrai·n, *s.*
ear	vurbae·r, *v.*	fringe	vuur·nj, vrìnj, *s.*
id	vurbee·d, *v.*	frock	vrok, *s.*
ive	vurgee·, *v.*	frog	vrog, *s.*
ake	vursae·ŭk, *v.*	from	vrom, *prep.*
	voa·ŭrd, *s.*	fry	vruy, *v.* and *s.*
	voa·r, ŭvoa·r, *a.*	full	vèol, *a.*
	vau·rk, *s.*	fumble	vuum·l, *v.*
head	vaur·aed, *a.*	furbish	vuur·bish, *v.*
h	voa·ŭth, *ad.*	furl	vuur·ul, *v.*
·foot	vaur·veot·, *a.*	furlong	vuur·long, *s.*
night, *s.* unate, *a.*	vau·rtnĕet	furlough	vuur·loa, *s.*
		furrow	voa·ŭr, *s.*
vard	vuur·wurd, *a.*	furze	vuuz, *s.*

ll compound words are sounded in the same manner as their ple components, except where otherwise noted.

46. F final becomes V.

, *s.*	kyaa·v	loaf, *s.*	loa·v
, *s.*	aa·v	roof, *v. s.*	ruuv
, *s.*	lee·v	sheaf, *s.*	zhee·v
s.	luy·v	wife, *s.*	wuy·v

47. F final becomes U.

turf, *s.*	tuur·ŭ

48. F final is lost.

iff, *s.*	baa·ylĕe	himself	ee·zzuul·
ntiff, *s.*	plaa·yntĕe	herself	uur·zuul·
lkerchief, *s.*	hang·kichur		

49. V initial becomes DH.

very, *ad.*	dhuur·ĕe	vetches, *s. pl.*	dhaach·ez
veal, *s.*	dhae·ŭl (sometimes)	vouch, *v.*	dhuwch (common)

50. V initial becomes F.

value, *v.* and *s.*	faal·ĕe (common)
victuals, *s.*	faet·lz (common)
village	fuol·ij (common)

51. V final becomes F.

heave, *v.*	haef(t	cloven, *pp.*	ŭ-klaeef ŭ-klaef·tid
leave, *v.*	·laef	lieve, lief, *ad.*	lee·f
cleave, *v.*	klaef	Fivehead	Fuy·faed

52. V final becomes B.

curve, *s.*	kuurb	valve, *s.*	vaal·b

53. V final lost.

give, *v.*	gĕe	expensive	aekspai·nsee
gave, *v pret.*	gyid	abusive, *a*	bùe·zĕe (very common)
given, *prep.*	ŭ-gid·	native, *s.*	nae·ŭtĕe
forgive, *v.*	vurgĕe·	laxative, *s.*	laak·sitĕe
have, *v.*	ae·ŭ	active, *a.*	aak·tĕe, haak·tĕe (very common name of cart-horse)
lieve, *ad.*	lai	destructive, *a.*	struuk·tĕe
above, *prep.*	boo, ŭboo·	deceptive, *a.*	saep·tĕe
serve, *v.* (earn wages; deserve ?)	saa·r		
themselves, *pr.*	dhuur·zuul·z		
-ive	-ĕe, or -ĕef *never* -ĕev		

(Other words of this kind are not common.)

54. S initial becomes Z.

sack	zaak, *s.*	sand	zan(d, *s.*
sad	zad, *a.*	sap	zae·ŭp, *s.*
saddle	zad·l, *s.*	sat	zaut, *v. pret.*
sage	zae·ŭj, *s.*	Saturday	Zad·urdĕe, *s.*
said	zaed, *v. pret.*	saw	zaa, *v.* and *s.*
sailor	zae·ŭlur, *s.*	say	zai, *v.*
sale	zae·ŭl, *s.*	segment	zaeg·munt, *s.*
sallow	zaal·ŭ, *a.*	sedge	zaej, *s.*
salt	zaalt, *s.*	see	zee, *v.*

54. S initial becomes Z.—*continued.*

seed	zid	silver	zìlvur, *s.*
seem	zim, *v.*	since	zìnz, *ad.*
self	zuul, *pr.*	sinew	zin·ĕe, *a.*
sell	zìl, *v.*	sing	zing, *v.*
selves	zuulz, *pr.*	single	zing·l, *a.*
set	zit, *v.*	sink	zìngk, *v.*
settle	zit-l, *s.*	sip	zìp, *v.*
settle	sat·l, *v.*	sir	zuur
seven	zaeb·m, *a.*	sister	zaes·tur, *s.*
sew	zoa, *v.*	sit	zit, *v.*
sick	zik, *a.*	site	zuyt, *s.*
side	zuyd, *s.*	six	ziks, *a.*
sieve	zēev, *s.*	sixth	zikst, *a.*
sift	zaef(t, *v.*	size	zuyz, *s.*
sigh	zaa·y, *s. v.*	sketch	zkich, *s.*, almost two syllables
sill	zìl, *s.*		

Note that *s* is almost invariably sounded as *z* before *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *u*, and *w*, but the following are exceptions: *sort* soa·urt, *soce* soa·ŭs, *sovereign* suuv·rin, *sugar* shuug·ur, *sure* shoa·ŭr.

55. S final becomes TH.

moss, *s.*	mau·th

56. SH and ZH initial both used occasionally.

See the note introductory to No. 44.—A. J. E.

share (of a plough) *s.*	zhee·ŭr, shee·ŭr	shears, *s. pl.*	zhee·ŭrz shee·ŭrz
shave, *v.*	zhee·ŭv, shee·ŭv	sheaf, *s.*	zhee·v, shee·v
shear, *v.*	zhee·ŭr, shee·ŭr		

57. SH initial becomes ZH.

shred	zhreed, *s.*	shrivel	zhrèovul, *v.*
shrew	zhrùe, *s.*	shroud	zhruwd, *s.*
shriek	zhrik, *v.* and *s.*	Shrove-tide	Zhroa·v-tuy·d,*s.*
shrimp	zhrèomp, *s.*	shrub	zhrub, *s.*
shrink	zhrink, *v.*		

58. SHR becomes ZR.

shrug, *v.*	zrug

And most of the words in No. 57 occasionally.

59. TH initial is retained.

thick, *a.*	thik[1]	thin, *a*	theen
thief, *s.*	theef	though, *conj.*	thauf

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[1] The hard *th* distinguishes the adjective from the demonstrative dhik *that.*

60. TH initial becomes DH.

The list would include all words beginning with *th*, which are not contained in Nos. 59, 61, and 62.

61. TH initial becomes D.

thistle, *s.*	duy·sl, duy·shl

And all words beginning with THR, which becomes DR.

62. TH initial becomes V.

thatch, *s. v.*	vaach, *also* dhaach.

63. TH final becomes F.

sheath, *s.*	zhee·f	cloth, *s.*	klau·f(common)
moth, *s.*	mau·f	tooth, *s.*	toof

64. '*GH*' final becomes F.

though, *conj.*	thau·f (always)	tough, *a.*	tŭuf
(as though)	(ŭzau·f)	cough, *s.*	kau·f
dough, *s.*	dŭuf(sometimes)	slough, *v.*	slŭuf

65. '*GH*' final is lost.

trough, *s.*	troa	enough, *ad.*	ŭ-nùe
through, *prep.*	drùe	slough, *s.*	slùe
plough, *s. v.*	pluw		

66. R transposed.

Part I.

R placed after the vowel before which it stands in usual English.

ready, *a.*	uur·dĕe	run, *v.*	uurn
red, *a.*	uurd	runner, *s.*	uurn·ŭr
reduce, *v.*	ŭrdùe·s	rush, *v.* and *s.*	uursh
rennet	uur·nŭt	rust, *v.* and *s.*	uurs(t
rich, *a.*	uurch	rust, *a.*	uur·stĕe
Richard	Uur·chut	bread, *s.*	buurd
rid, *v.*	uurd	brunt, *s.*	buurnt
riddance, *s.*	uur·dŭns	brush, *v.* and *s.*	buursh
riddle	uurd·l, huurd·l	crush, *v.* and *s.*	kuursh
ridge, *v.* and *s.*	uurj	crust, *s.*	kuurst
risk, *v.* and *s.*	uursk	crystal, *s.*	kuur·stul (always)
ruddy, *a.*	uur·dĕe		

66. R transposed. Part I.—*continued.*

front, *s.*	fuurn(t	grist, *s.*	guur(t (sometimes), gree·s (generally)
affront, *v.* and *s.*			
great, *a.*	guurt		
grenadier, *s.*	guur·nudee·r	gristle, *s.*	guur·sl
griddle, *v.*	guur·dl	grit, *s.*	guurt
gridiron, *s.*	guur·duy·ur	gritty, *a.*	guur·tĕe
grim, *a.*	guurm	groats, *s.*	guurts
grin, *v.* and *s.*	guurn	grudge, *v.* and *s.*	guurj
grisly, *a.*	guurz·lĕe	grunt, *v.* and *s.*	guurnt
grizzle, *v.*	guur·zl	trundle, *v.*	tuurn·dl
grizzled, *a.*	ŭguur·zl(d	trust, *v.* and *s.*	tuurs

PART II.

R placed before the letter which precedes it in usual English.

percussion, *s.*	prĕekuush·un	pervert	prĕevuur·t
persuade	prĕeswae·ŭd	urn, *s.*	run
perspire	praespuy·ŭr	curdz, *s.*	kridz
perspiration	praes·purae·ŭr-shun		

IV.—NAMES OF THE LETTERS OF THE ALPHABET.

A	ae·ŭ	H	ae·ŭch	O	oa	V	vai
B	bee	I	uy	P	pai	W	duub·lyùe
C	see	J	jae·ŭ	Q	kùe	X	aeks
D	dee	K	kae·ŭ	R	aa·r	Y	wuy
E	ai·	L	uul	S	as	Z	zad
F	af	M	ai·m	T	tai	&	anpaa·sĕe
G	jee	N	ai·n	U	yùe		

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POSTSCRIPT ON THE DOUBTFUL VOWELS. BY ALEX. J. ELLIS, ESQ.

On referring to the notes prefixed to Nos. 22 *èo*, 23 *èo* short, 28 *oe*, 30 *oo'* or *i*, *èo*, *ùo*, 33 *ua*, 34 *ùe*, 35 *ùe* short, it will be seen that I had much difficulty in appreciating the sounds actually pronounced, and felt great hesitation as to the correctness of the form I ultimately adopted. Indeed *èo*, *ì*, *ùo*, *ùe*, are rather arbitrary symbols than Glossic letters, and properly indicate only that though the sounds heard bore a superficial resemblance to those represented by *eo*, *i*, *uo*, *ue*, in Glossic, the nature of that resemblance was not understood. And although *oe* was used with less hesitation, it may likewise be incorrect. Since my last long examination of the West Somersetshire sounds as pronounced by Mr. Elworthy, I have had an opportunity to examine at much greater length the sounds used in the Peak of Derbyshire and South Lancashire. I have thus become acquainted with certain dialectal habits of speech which may possibly help to explain those in West Somerset; but I have thought it best to make no alteration in what I wrote immediately after hearing Mr. Elworthy speak, as I had no opportunity of correcting the impressions I then received by a fresh examination.

The difficulties, it will be seen, relate principally to those sounds which are produced by the joint action of the tongue and lips. Now in pronouncing a vowel-sound, both tongue and lips have to be kept in the same position throughout, as any change of position also changes the sound. There are certain amounts of closure of the lips associated with certain heights of the tongue in the cultivated languages of Europe. But it by no means follows that in the uncultivated dialects of these languages the same should be the case. Coarse and rude as a dialect speaker appears to a cultivated speaker, it will be found on examination that the dialect speaker has generally a greater range of sounds, and distinguishes any deviation from them, as by a speaker from a neighbouring village, with much greater readiness. One of the peculiarities of dialectal speech is its constant replacement of a simple by a "fractured" vowel, that is, a fixed by a gliding sound produced by changing the position of the tongue or mouth or both while pronouncing. In Derbyshire and South Lancashire it is a habit to begin to pronounce *oo* with the mouth quite wide open, and to go on closing the lips as the sound is continued. The result, *óo*, is a fracture; beginning by a sound *uu'*, not unlike the French *ue*, and ending like a pure *oo*. At the first moment it strikes a Londoner as *eu*, and by variously altering the amount of closure of the lips at first, and the rapidity with which they are closed, sounds more or less resembling *ue*, *eo*, *oe*, may be produced. It seems very probable that this action of the lips may exist in West Somerset and Devonshire. My recollection of the peculiar sound of *oo* in *moon* in North Devonshire is, that it was almost precisely the same as *móon*. To appreciate this *óo*, say *too*, and while uttering the sound of the vowel open the lips suddenly very wide, producing ***uu'***. The difference of the sounds ***uu'*** and *oo* is very striking, and there is a clear *prīmā faciē* resemblance of ***uu'*** to ***ue*** or ***eo***, and also to ***uu***, ***oe***. Then in attempting to say *too*, begin with the mouth *open*, or a quarter or half open, and close to the usual position for *oo*, keeping the tongue steady in its usual position for *oo*, and study the results. It seems to me that we have here the key to this curious collection of sounds in West Somerset, which must certainly have been formed by native means alone.

But there is another sound in Derbyshire and South Lancashire which may be written *ù*, and may be imitated by putting the lips in the position for *oo*, and then trying to say ***uu***. This brings the tongue much lower than for the usual sound of *oo*, and produces a sound which seems to hesitate between *oo* and ***uu***, being really less sonorous than *oo* and less obscure than ***uu***. It is possible that this may be the *ùo* of No. 30, or at least that such an *ùo* is produced by similar means. And a half closure of the lips tends to "thicken" ***uu*** considerably. See note to No. 37. The ***ua*** sound (No. 33) is properly ***au*** with open lips. But it differs very slightly from ***uu***, which is ***oa*** with open lips.

Now that attention has been directed to these dialectal alterations of sound, we may probably be able to analyze and explain other dialectal alterations which have baffled observers. Dr. Murray has lately been examining the sounds of Westmorland, and seems to have ascertained there also the existence of forms like *óo*, *ù*. The Norfolk *ue*, and Scotch *eo*, may turn out to have been generated in the same manner. Those to whom these sounds are strange are puzzled by them extremely, and most observers have been content to assume them to be like the well-known European *ue*, *oe*, *eo*; but this is, in fact, a mere confession of ignorance. The great difficulty which I have experienced in obtaining any conception of the generation of these West Somerset sounds, makes me feel the necessity of a complete reconsideration of the whole subject.—A. J. E.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

GRAMMAR

OF THE

DIALECT OF WEST SOMERSET.

AN OUTLINE

OF

THE GRAMMAR

OF THE

DIALECT OF WEST SOMERSET.

ILLUSTRATED BY

EXAMPLES OF THE COMMON PHRASES AND MODES OF SPEECH NOW IN USE
AMONG THE PEOPLE.

BY

FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY,
MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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THE GRAMMAR

OF THE

DIALECT OF WEST SOMERSET.

THIS outline of the Grammar is intended as a sequel to the paper on the West Somerset Dialect previously published by this Society, which treated chiefly of the pronunciation and vowel sounds of the district; it will be followed by a Glossary, with which it is my purpose to complete the subject.

The system of Glossic spelling now adopted is the same as that used in the previous paper, to which there appeared a complete key, kindly drawn up by Mr. Ellis, the inventor, and to which all who may find any difficulty are referred.[1]

---

[1] The following brief abstract of the system will be found convenient. The *Consonants b, d, f, j, k, l, m, n, p, t, v, w, y, z,* and the digraphs *ch, sh, th,* have their usual values; *g* is always hard, as in *gig*; *h* initial as in *ho*! (only used for emphasis in this dialect); *s* as in *s*o, never as in hi*s*; *r* is reversed or cerebral, not dental or alveolar, and ought properly to be written ˛r, but for convenience simple *r* is printed; *ng* as in si*ng*, thi*nk*=thingk; *ngg* as in a*nger*=a*ng·g*ur; *zh* is used for French j, the English sound in vi*si*on=vi*zh*·un; and *dh* for the *voiced* form of *th,* as in *th*at=*dh*at. The *Vowels*, found also in English, are *a* as in m*a*n; *aa·* in baz*aa*r; *aa* short, the same in quality, but quantity short; *ai·* in *ai*d; *ao·*, like *o* in b*o*re; *au·* as in l*au*d; *au* the same short as *a* in w*a*tch; *ee* in s*ee*; *ĕe*, the same short, as in French f*i*n*i*; *i* as in f*i*nn*y*; *oa* as in m*oa*n; *ŏa*, the same short (not found in English); *oo·* in ch*oo*se; *u* in *u*p, carr*o*t; *uo*, *u* in b*u*ll. Dialectal vowels are *ae*, opener than *e* in n*e*t, French *è* in n*e*tte; *èo*, French *eu* in j*eu*ne, or nearly; *èo·* the same long as in j*eû*ne; *ùe*, French *u* in d*u*c or nearly; *ùe·* the same long, as in d*û*; *uu*, a deeper sound of *u* in *u*p than the London one, but common in England generally; *ua*, a still lower and deeper sound; *ú* (now used for Mr. Ellis's *oe* No. 28, and *ì*, *èo*, *ŭo*, No. 30 —see Dr. Murray's note at the end of this paper) is the *natural vowel* heard with *l* in kind-*le*=kind·*úl*. It lies between *i*n and *u*n, and etymologically is a lowered and retracted *i*, as *túm·ur*, *zúl*= timber, sill. The diphthongs *aa·w* as in Germ. *haus*; *aa·y* long *aa*, finishing with *ĭ*, as in Ital. *mai*; *aay* the same with shorter quantity (a frequent form of English *I*); *aew*, *ae* finishing in *oo*, sometimes heard in vulgar London pronunciation as *kaew*=cow; *auy* as in b*oy* (nearly); *au·y* with the first element longer or drawled; *uw*=*ow* in

The extreme importance of one uniform system of phonetics is so thoroughly well understood, that there seems to be little need of any apologetic explanation to the general reader for the use of an orthography which may appear a little strange to unaccustomed eyes, but which is, nevertheless, by far the simplest and most easily acquired system yet introduced.

Whenever it is found that the same word is spelt in two or more different ways, it is to be understood that each mode of spelling represents a variety of pronunciation common in the dialect.

As in the former paper, so in this, the advice and suggestions of Mr. Ellis upon the best symbols to be used in writing the peculiar sounds of the dialect, have been invaluable; and, moreover, he has bestowed an amount of pains and labour upon the analysis of these sounds which is beyond my power adequately to acknowledge. Unfortunately, in the present instance, Mr. Ellis has had no opportunity of revising the proofs under the guidance of the living voice; but Dr. Murray has kindly availed himself of an opportunity of carefully

---

h*ow*; *uy*, as in *buy*=*i*, *y* in b*i*te, b*y*; *uuy*, the same a little wider, under influence of a preceding *w*, as *pwuuy·zn*=poison. *Imperfect diphthongs*, and *triphthongs*, or *fractures* formed by a long vowel or diphthong finishing off with the sound of *ŭ*, or the natural vowel, are numerous; thus a*e·ŭ* (nearly as in f*air*=fae·ŭ); *ao·ŭ* (as in m*ore* =mao·ŭ); *ee·ŭ* (as in id*ea*, n*ear*); *oa·ŭ* (barely distinct from ao·ŭ, say as in gr*ower*=groa·ŭ); *oo·ŭ* (as in w*oo·er*=woo·ŭ); *aaw·ŭ* (as in *our* broadly; *aay·ŭ*; *aew·ŭ*; *uw·ŭ* (as fl*ower*=fluw·ŭ); *uy·ŭ* (as in *ire*=uy·ŭ). Of the imperfect diphthongs *ee·ŭ* and *oo·ŭ*, from the distinctness of their initial and terminal sounds, are most distinctly diphthongal to the ear, the stress being also pretty equal on the two elements. The turned period after a vowel, as *oo·*, indicates length and position of accent; after a consonant it indicates shortness of the vowel in the accented syllable, as *vadh·ŭr*=vădh′ŭr. As a caution, the mark of short quantity is written over *ĕe*, *ŏa*, when short, as these are never short in English; and it is used with *ŭ* when this has the obscure unaccented value found in *ă*-bove, mann*ă*, nat*iŏ*n, etc. The peculiar South-western *r* must be specially attended to, as it powerfully affects the character of the pronunciation. It is added in its full strength to numerous words originally ending in a vowel, and *whenever written it is to be pronounced*, not used as a mere vowel symbol as in Cockney *winder*, *tomorrer*, etc. *That* sound is here expressed by *ŭ*, as *win·dŭ*, *maar·ŭ*.

going through them, during a visit to the district, in which he studied the pronunciation on the spot; and he has thus been able to decide conclusively as to the physical basis of one of our difficult vowel sounds, about which Mr. Ellis was in doubt. (See Mr. Ellis's notes on the subject, pp. 58, 77, 78, Dialect of West Somerset.)

In preparing this outline, the same order of the various parts of speech has been followed as that in Dr. Murray's "Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland:" and it will be found in many points that the West Somerset is brought into direct contrast with the Scotch, by which method, it is hoped, a comparison of these two widely diverging dialects may be more readily made. To the assistance I have experienced from Dr. Murray, and to the hints and suggestions received from him, is due any measure of completeness that may be found in this outline; for without them much of value and of interest must of necessity have been omitted. Dr. Murray has also kindly contributed the notes bearing his initials which compare the West Somerset with Old English forms and expressions, or with those found in other dialects to which he has given particular attention.

In dealing with the Grammar, and in compiling the various lists of words necessary to illustrate it, it would have been very desirable to have rendered those lists complete and exhaustive, by including in their proper places in them all the verbs (conjugated with their past tenses and past participles) which are archaic or provincial; but this could only be achieved by reference to the Glossary, which, at present, is in a fragmentary state, and it has been thought better not, on that account, to delay the publication of this outline for an indefinite time.

It should be borne in mind that when positive general rules are laid down as invariable, they are only intended to apply to the dialect pure and unadulterated—a stranger coming among the people would at once hear all the rules broken, in the "fine" sentences addressed to him; but long experience enables the writer to maintain with confidence all that is here put forward.

NOUNS.

The Plural Number.

In the district of West Somerset we have eight forms of plural terminations, viz. *s*, with its varieties *z*, *ez*, and *ezez; n; r;* plurals the same as the singular; and plurals formed by a change or modification of the root vowel of the singular.

Plural in *s*

is found with all words ending in the sounds of *k*, *t*, *th*, *p*, *f;* also in *l*, when it is found in unaccented syllables; as in the following examples:—

rùemaat·ik[1]	rùemaat·iks	rheumatic
raat	raats	rat
zmúth	zmúths	smith
traap	traaps	trap
uuf·	uuf·s	hoof
an·vèol	an·vèols[2]	handful
lae·ŭgl	lae·ŭgls	label

Plural in *z*

All nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant, as *b*, *d*, *g*, *l* (in accented syllable), *m*, *n*, *r*, *v*, have their plurals in *z*, as—

pai	pai·z	pea
klaa	klaa·z	claw
skĕet·ĕe	skĕet·ĕez	moorhen
bai·dtuy	bai·dtuyz	ticking of a bed (also the entire bed, not the bedstead)
tuur·ŭ	tuur·ŭz	turf
rúb	rúbz	rib
èo·d	èo dz	wood (silva)
koa·ŭrd	koa·ŭrdz	cord
pai·g	pai·gz	pig
zaung	zaungz	song
buun·l	buun·lz	bundle
gurd·l	gurd·lz (*s* sometimes)	girl
vèo·l[3]	vèo·lz	fool
uul·um	uul·umz	elm

---

[1] This is always a substantive—*uur·v u-gau·t dhu rùemaat·ik.* The adjective would be *aay bee u-rùe·matuyz· tuur·bl.* The term *rheumatic pains* would not be used.

[2] Combinations of *vèol* have their plurals sometimes in *s* and sometimes in *z*, depending on the stress laid by individuals on the last syllable.

[3] This word is often pronounced *fèo·l.*

chaa·yn	chaa·ynz	chain
púch·ur	púch·urz	pitcher
loa·v	loa·vz	loaf

Plurals in *ez*

are found in those nouns which end in the sounds of *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh* or compounds of them, as *x* (=*ks*), *j* (=*dzh*); also those in *st* or *sk*.

s	fae·ŭs	fae·ŭsez	face
ps	aa·ps	aa·psez	hasp
x	fau·ks	fau·ksez	fox[1]
ts	au·rts	au·rtsez	orts, *i.e.* leavings
z	noa·ŭz	noa·ŭzez	nose
	aewz	aewzez	house
sh	buursh	buur·shez	brush
ch=*tsh*	buurch	buur·chez	breech[2]
zh	een·zh	een·zhez	hinge
j=*dzh*	vúl·ij	vúl·ijez	village
st	vrau·s(t	vrau·stez	frost[3]
sk	kaa·s(k	kaa·sez *or* kaa·skez	cask

Words in literary English which change the final *f*, or *f* sound of the singular, into *v* in the plural, are pronounced by us with *v* in the singular, and consequently, as before shown, their plurals are all in *z*, as

luyv	life	nuyv *or* nai·v	knife
wuyv	wife		
lee·v	leaf	shee·v	sheaf
thee·v	thief	loa·v	loaf
klee·v	cliff	stae·ŭv	staff
aa·v	half	kyaa·v	calf

(See West Somerset Dialect, p. 71.)

except nouns in *lf*—which are very few. These have their plurals in *lfs* instead of the *lvz* of literary English, as

wuolf	wuolfs	*not* wuolvz	wolf
shúlf	shúlfs	*not* shúlvz	shelf

---

[1] Fox is pronounced by us with the *f* sharp, and the word *vixen* is never used except as an epithet for a woman of bad temper. A female fox is a *búch fau·ks*.

[2] This word in the singular is used to express the hinder part of both men and animals—also technically to the coarse wool in a fleece which grows near the tail of a sheep. In the plural it signifies a garment as elsewhere.

[3] The *t* is only sounded when followed by a vowel. We hardly ever sound *k* after *s*, except when followed by a vowel, and not always even then—as *vlaa·s* (flask), *maa·s* (mask). *Kaa·sez* is more common than *kaa·skez* (see post).

In *self* and its compounds (see Pronouns) the *f* being always dropped, thus becoming *zuul*, the plural follows the rule for words ending in *l* with final syllable accented, and is therefore always in *z*, as *dhai dùe·d ut dhur-zuul·z* (they did it themselves).

It is curious to observe that even those people who have learnt a little better than to talk of *ur-zuul, ur-zuulz* (ourselves), would nevertheless follow the rule given above for words in *lf*, and always say *ur-sael·f, ur-sael·fs, dhae·ür-sael·fs*, etc. So also *health,* pronounced *uulf,* follows the same rule, and always becomes *uulfs* in the plural. The ordinary toast before placing the drinking vessel to the lips is *yuur-z au·l yur uulfs* (here is (to) all your healths). This may be heard daily as well in the village tavern as in the harvest-field.

On the other hand, received words, which ending in *th* in the singular, make *dhz* in the plural, as *lath, path, bath,* in our dialect retain the hard *th,* and make their plurals in *ths* instead of *dhz*, as *maa·ths, paa·ths, baa·ths,* or else change the *th* into *f* in the singular, and then, as before shown, for words in *f*, they make their plurals in *s*, not *z*, as

laa·f[1]	laa·fs	lath
maewf	maewfs	mouth

Very often this *th,* when it follows *a,* is altogether dropped, and then the plural is formed in the way before shown for words ending in a vowel, *i.e.* in *z*, as *baa·z* (baths). A man informed me—*Dhai-v u-kuut· paa·z rai·t drùe dhŭ kau·ps,* "They have cut paths right through the copse."

Not only do we sound the full syllable *ez* after words ending in *st*, but very frequently we add a second *ez*, as—

bee·ŭs(t	bee·ŭstez	*and often*	bee·ŭstezez	beast
bris(t	bris·tez	,,	bris·tezez	breast
kris(t	kris·tez	,,	kris·tezez	crust
vuys(t	vuy·stez	,,	vuy·stezez	fist

Some individuals use this form habitually, others

---

[1] The verb *to lath* is with us *laa·ft—Dhu juy·s wuz su ruuf, kèod·n laa·ftĕe* (The joists were so rough (one or I) could not lath, *i.e.* nail on the laths). Observe the omission of the nominative case to the verb (see post).

(especially *vuy·stezez*) emphatically. I have not remarked it as used peculiarly by children or by the most ignorant adults. I do not give it as the rule for these words, but it is decidedly common in ordinary sober talk.

In all these cases the plurals are several and not collective (see Plurals without Change).

A double plural is very frequently used when speaking of several articles which have the form of plural nouns in the singular, as *buul·ĕes* (bellows), *bran·dĕes* (see page 12), *tau·ngz, sta·aps,* etc. These become *buu·lĕesez, bran·dĕesez, taungz·ez, staa·psez* or *staap·sez,* etc. So also *ae·ŭmzez, wuop·ensez* (which see after, among *plurals without singular.*)

A few years ago I saw on a board over a door in Exeter—

"Here liv'th a man what don't refuse
To mend
Umbrellases, bellowses, boots and shoes."

Plural in *n*

is seldom heard. We do not use this form so frequently as Dorsetshire *voaks.* Indeed *au·ksn* (oxen), *chik·ĕen*[1] (chicken), (the plural of *chick*—we know no such word as *chickens*), *chúl·urn* (children, see below), and *vraek·sn*[2] (rushes), are all the examples known to me, as in daily use, though I have heard that *uyn* (eyes), *shùen* (shoes), and *oa·zn* (hose), were used in this district quite within "the memory of the oldest inhabitant." We do not use brethren, but *bridh·urz* as the plural of *bridh·ur* (brother). I never heard of either *tree·n* or *houzen.*

Plural in *r*.

The only certain example of this form is in *chúl·ur,* singular *chee·ŭl,* which is the commonest form of *children* amongst the farm labourer class. Among those slightly above them, with a little culture, *chúl·urn* is the usual form; but the *d* (in *children*) is dropped by every one. *Poo·ŭr blid uur-v u-ae·ŭd sŭ múnĕe chúl·ur, uurz u-kaum tu lèok maa·yn weesht,* "Poor blood (thing), she has had so many children (that) she has come to look very sad" (? bewitched). With us *doa·ŭn ĕe bleev·ut, chee·ŭl* (don't believe it, child), might be said to any person of whatever age—even to a grandparent; it simply betokens familiarity. Besides this we have the word *toa·kŭr,* which signifies "the wherewithal," either money or food. We have also *toa·k,* which means bread simply. Whether our *toa·kur* is the plural of *toak,* or whether it be allied to the Scotch *tocher,* I leave to others to decide. *Toa·kur,* however, like *money,* would be construed as a singular noun.

---

[1] Ags. *cicen,* pl. *cicenu,* later *cicene, chickene.* When the final *e* became mute, and the plural would have been left the same as the singular, they were differentiated in the Northern and Midland dialects by adding *s* to the plural; but in the Southern the singular was contracted to *chick* and the plural remained *chicken = chickene = cicene = cicenu.* This is a modern repetition of what occurred in much older times in *oxen,* and the German *-n* declension generally.—M.

[2] *Vraeksn* (Ags. *rixan,* pl. of *rixe, risce,* Chaucer *rishe,* Gower *resche,* Ayenb. *resse*) is a true *-n* plural. The change of initial *r* into *vr* occurs in several words in the dialect, as *vrak·n,* reckon.—M.

Aay shŭd luyk t-ab·m,[1] *neef uun·ee aay-d u-gau·ŭt dhu toa·kur,* "I should like to have it, if only I had got the wherewithal."

PLURALS MADE BY MODIFICATION OF THE VOWEL.

Of this form we have no more than in literary English, *i.e.*:

mae·ŭn	mai·n	men
uum·un	wuom·ĕen	women
tèo·dh	tai·dh	teeth
vèot	vĕet	feet
gèo·z	gee·z	geese
muwz	muys	mice
luws *or* laews	luys	lice

From the latter comes a very common adjective, *luw·zĕe.* This is almost invariably the quality attributed to a rogue; so that it may be said to be his own proper adjective.

PLURALS WITHOUT CHANGE FROM THE SINGULAR.

These are again few—

shĕep, dee·ŭr, graews (grouse),
pae·ur (pair), puyp, (draining pipe), snuyp (snipe).

All nouns, however, when used collectively, keep the plural unchanged, as *U mún·ĕe uul·um bee gwaa·yn tu droa?* "How many elms are you going to throw?" *i.e.* fell. *Dhu vrau·s-l dùe gèo·d, tl chek· dhu buud,* "The frost will do good, it will check the buds." *Baewd u fee·tĕe puyp,* "About (of) fifty pipes." This last expression uttered alone would convey a definite idea to a native—no vision of Broseley or Meerschaum would confuse his brain, nor would a thought of luscious port occur to him, but only common draining pipes. Other kinds, as *baak·ĕe puyp, brand·ĕe puyp, hau·rgĕen puyp* (organ pipe), *lid·n puyp* (lead pipe), would have their regular plurals. *Dree uun·did u brik,* "Three hundred bricks." *Aay nŭv·ur daed·n noa uur·ĕen su skee·ŭs,* "I never knew herrings so scarce." *D-ĕe wau·nt ún·ĕe kaa·s?* "Do you want any casks?" The ordinary plural of cask is *kaa·sez,* if used severally. *Dhur waud-n bud tùe kaa·sez u-laf·,* "There were only two casks left." *Dhur wuz u suyt u bee·ŭs tu fae·ŭr,* "There were a great many beasts, *i.e.* bullocks, at the fair." But severally *Aav ee zee·d dree bee·ustez* (or *bee·ustezez*) *gwaa·yn ulau·ng?* "Have you seen three oxen going along?" In the advertisements in local papers is nearly always to be found, "a lot of cask," "a prime lot of 400 cheese," "20 cord of hardwood," pronounced *twain·tĕe koa·ŭrd u aa·rd èo·d.* This last example may be taken as a measure of quantity, and therefore it would be according to strict rule that nouns of measure keep their singular form in the plural, as *puynt, kwau·rt, gyaal·un, pak*[1] (peck), *paa·k* (pack, 240 lbs.[2]), *loa·ŭd, auks·eed* (hogshead), *stĕech* (ten sheaves of corn, Northern *stook*). *Dhai·d u-kaa·rd aul dhu vee·ŭl een·tu baewd u vaaw·ŭr skoa·ŭr*

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[1] Some individuals would say *tae·ŭn.* For change of *n* into *m* see West Somerset Dialect, p. 17; observe also the change of *v* into *b* in *t-ab·m.*

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[1] Peck is a measure of liquids as well as grain, etc. *Vaaw·ur shuul·ĕenz un ae·ŭkur n tùe pak u suy·dur,* "Four shillings an acre and two pecks of cyder,"—the usual price for mowing meadow grass.

[2] The pack (240 lbs. weight) is now almost confined to wool; *teazles* are, however, still sold by the pack. The load for a pack-horse was always 240 lbs., or *twuulv skoa·ŭr wau·yt.* It is well within the recollection of the writer, when no other means of carriage than pack-horses existed in considerable districts. The pack-saddle was a curiously contrived appliance, to which sometimes long wooden crooks, sometimes small wooden boxes with hinged bottoms, called *duung-buuts,* were attached—the former for carrying hay, corn, faggots, etc., the latter for manure, stones, or other heavy material. The load for a horse, of any heavy material, was called a *zee·ŭm* (seam), and was always understood to be 240 lbs. In many leases the farmer is still bound to apply "two hundred seams of good rotten dung per acre" before a corn crop. Compare *sumpter-horse.*

steech, haun duwn kau·m dhu raa·yn, "They had carried, *i.e.* harvested, all the field except about four score stitch*es*, when down came the rain." To this rule of measures keeping their singular form in the plural, there are many exceptions; but upon a close inspection it will be found that there is an indefiniteness as to the quantity signified by these exceptions, and hence the words, though undoubtedly measures, take ordinary plural forms, as *vuur·kĕenz* (firkins, small kegs of various sizes to carry the allowance of cyder), *bai·gz* (bags). A bag is sometimes three bushels and sometimes a quantity determined by weight: *u bai·g u aa·plz* (a bag of apples) is six score pounds, while *u bai·g u tae·ŭdĕez* (bag of potatoes) is eight score; *bèo·shlz* (bushels, these are sometimes four and sometimes eight pecks, according to the kind of produce to be measured; a bushel of either lime or green peas is understood to be eight pecks), *an·vèols, aat·vèols, kaap·vèols, paug·utvèols* (handfuls, hatfuls, capfuls, pocketfuls), and all combinations of *full.*

Nouns of space, weight, and number are unchanged in the plural, whether used collectively or not, except *únsh* (inch), which always becomes *únsh·ez*, unless it is used adjectively, as in *u dree-únsh plangk* (a 3-inch plank); *vèot, yaa·rd, muy·ŭld*[1] (mile), *ae·ŭkur, vadh·um, paewn* (pound), *uun·did-wau·yt* (hundred-weight, *i.e.* 100 lbs.), *tuun.* Our ordinary weights are *wau·n tu nai·n paewn* (one to nine pound), *aa·fskaor-wau·yt* (10 lbs.), *labm*[2] *tu nai·ntĕen paewn, diz·n paewn* (12 lbs.), *skao·r wau·yt* (20 lbs.), *wau·n-un-twai·ntĕe, tu nai·n-un-twai·ntĕe paewn, aur wau·yt*; *wau·n-un-thuur·tee*, etc., *wau·yt, aur paewn*; *fau·rtĕe wau·yt, aur tùe skao·r wau·yt* (40 lbs.); *fee·tĕe wau·yt* (50 lbs.), *dree skao·r wau·yt;*[3] *zab·mtĕe wau·yt* (70 lbs.), *vaaw·ur skao·r wau·yt, aur aa·ytee wau·yt* (80 lbs.; see post, Adjectives of Number and Quantity), *pae·ŭr, kuu·pŭl, brae·ŭs, lai·sh* (leash) *aa·fdiz·n* (6), *aa·fskaor, diz·n, bae·ŭkurz diz·n* (baker's dozen =13), *skao·r, uun·did, laung uun·did* (120), *thuw·zn* (1000), *muul·yun* (million). We know nothing of the hundred-weight (112 lbs.). All these, however, have ordinary plurals in *s* or *z* when used emphatically or severally. For instance, *Aay-v u-zee·d uun·didz oa-m,* "I have seen hundreds of them." *T-l kau·s skao·rz ŭ paewnz,* "It will cost scores of pounds." *Ur waud-n uun·ĕe bŭ dree un twai·ntĕe yuur oa·l, haun ee duyd; bud ur bún maa·rĕed ugee·ŭn uz yuurz,* "She was but twenty-three years old when he (*i.e.* her husband) died; but she has been married again for years," *lit.* these years (see Distinguishing Adjectives).

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[1] The adjective mild is pronounced *muy·ŭl*, as *u glaa·s u muy·ul ae·ŭl* (a glass of mild ale), see p. 67, West Somerset Dialect. So, in Shakspere, *vilde* always for *vile*; "The King is mad: How stiffe is my *vilde* sense."—Lear, iv. 6.

[2] See West Somerset Dialect, p. 17.

None of these nouns would be used in the plural after definite numerals, as *tai·n kuup·ul u duuks* (10 couples of ducks). *Vaaw·ur diz·n u brai·d* (4 dozen of bread, *i.e.* 52 loaves). After indefinite numerals or nouns of quantity plurals would sometimes be used, as *Siv·ur pae·ŭrz u shùe·z wuz u-stoa·ŭld* (see post, Strong Verbs), "Several pairs of shoes were stolen." *U brae·ŭv lau·t ŭ kuup·ulz wuz u-aar·mĕen oa ut ubaew·d,* "A brave lot of couples were arming of it about," *i.e.* walking arm in arm.

Month always becomes *muuns* [1] in the plural, except when in *twuul-muunth* it stands for a year. *Aay yuur·d um zai· uz uw· u wuz u zab·m muuns chee·ŭl,* "I heard them say as how he was a seven months child." *Twuz twuul muuns ugau·n, vèol au·p,* "It was fully twelve months ago." *Een ubaew·d ŭ twuul-muunth uur-l bee au·m ugee·ŭn,* "In about a year she will be at home again." *Dree muuns ugau·n kaum Vruy·dĕe,* "Three months ago next Friday."

Of yards we have three kinds, signifying different measures. The *dree vèot* one is seldom used except by drapers; when that length is spoken of as a yard, it is called a *klaa·th yaa·rd.*

A farmer said to me lately in reference to a distance of three hundred yards, *Kèod·n bee su vaa·r,* "It could not be so far." *Bud wau·t yaardz dee mai·n ?* "But what yards do you mean?" The farmer was *u beet uv u skau·lurd,* and so it flashed upon him that I had been speaking of the cloth yard.

We mean a "pole" of 16½ feet by a yard simple, and we often call that space a *lan·yaard*. The same measure squared, *i.e.* a perch, we call a *yaa·rd* or a *yaa·rd u graewn*, the latter most commonly. An acre measures *aa·yt skao·r yaa·rd*, and portions of acres are *tai·n*, *twai·ntee*, *fee·tee* (50), etc., *yaa·rd*. A rood of land is always either *ŭ kwau·rturn ae·ŭkur u graewn*, or else it is *fau·rtee yaa·rd u graewn. Uw muuch ez dhik·ee vee·ŭl u graewn?* "How much is that field?" *Wuul, ee du mizh·ur vaaw·ur ae·ŭkur n dree skao·r yaa·rd, bud wee au·vees kyaa·ls-n dhu vuy·v ae·ŭkurz*, "Well, it measures four acres and sixty perches, but we always call it the *Five-acres*." So that when a measure becomes a proper name, it takes the -*z*, just the contrary of ordinary English usage. Yard in the sense of an inclosure is not used; we speak of the *baa·k kyùe·ŭrt* (back-court), while a farmyard is simply a *kyùe·ŭrt*. A stackyard is the *muw-baa·rtĕen* (mow-barton). As in Scotch and English dialects generally, we always construe *broth* as a plural noun. *U vùe brau·th wai liks een um*, "A few broth with leeks in *them*," is a favourite mess. *Dhai brau·th bee u-bwuuy·ŭl laung unuuf·*, "Those broth are boiled long enough."

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[1] Month is an exceptional word—dropping the *th* in the plural and keeping the hard *s* as above.

Of plural nouns we have many without singulars: *buul·ĕes* (bellows), *bran·dĕes* (an iron tripod for holding a pot over a wood fire), (*bran·dĕes-faa·rshĕen*, brandees-fashion, means triangularly), *buu·rchez* (breeches), *tau·ngz*, *shee·ŭrz*, *siz·ez* (scissors), *staa·ps* (pair of steps), *skidz* (a strong ladder for loading casks), *pún·shez* (pincers), *wau·yts* (scales, not the weights, these are *wau·yt stoa·ŭnz*), *ae·ŭmzez* (hames, part of harness), *wuop·unsez* (whipple-tree), *kridz* (curds), *wae·ŭjez pún·yunz* (refuse of combed wool), *skemps* (flax tow), *skyuur·ĕenz* (the long grass left in pasture by cattle), *spaa·rtikulz* (spectacles), *au·dmunts* (odds and ends), *ting·kurmunts* (make-shifts), *shaa·rps* (bran pollard, also shafts of a carriage or cart), *au·ŭrtz* (orts or leavings), *rae·ŭmz* (skeleton, also the broken framework of any constructed article). *Poa·ŭr oal rae·ŭmz, ee kaa·n aar·lee skraa·lĕe baewt*, "Poor old skeleton, he can hardly crawl about." *Dhur wau·d-n uun·ĕe dhu rae·ŭmz u dhu gee·ŭt u-laf·*, "There was only the wreck of the gate left." *Dhu shúlf wuz pur·tĕe aa·y*

—*dhur wau·d-n noa·ŭrt bud dhu rae·ŭmz uv ŭ gèo·z twiks dree oa us*,[1] "The shelf was pretty high—there was nothing but the bones of the body of a goose (*i.e.* minus legs and wings) between three of us."

Many diseases are spoken of only in the plural, as *mai·zlz* (measles), *muul·igruubz* (stomach-ache), *strang·lz* (horse quinsy), *muumps*, *chaul·iwaubulz* (diarrhœa), *fút·s* (fits), *uy·tumz* (restless antics), *fúj·uts* (fidgets), *yuur·buurz* (a kind of swelling in the ear), *skraa·chez* (sores in horses' heels), *mai·grumz* (megrims), *wuytz* (whites), *wuy·ul skwuurts* (excessive diarrhœa), *skwút·urz* (looseness in cattle), *wau·shurz* (a soreness in horses' mouths), *gyaaps* (gaping, disease of chickens).

Possessive Case.

The possessive case of nouns in West Somerset is formed and used as in ordinary English, and therefore requires little remark. Excepting in those nouns which make their plurals by a change of vowel, as in *mae·ŭn mae·ŭnz*, *mai·n mai·nz* (man), there is no difference in sound between the possessive singular, nominative plural, and possessive plural, *i.e.* three forms having the same sound. *Bwuuy·z luuv* (southernwood) may be either "boy's love," or "boys' love," or "boys love" (fun!) But the word *voaks* people, makes *voak·sez*: *uur·nĕen oa·vur uudh·ur voak·sez gee·ŭrdnz*, "running over folk's gardens." There is, however, a great fondness for the forms *u* (*oa* or *uv* before a vowel) (=of), and we should much prefer to say *dhu ai·d oa un*, *dhu au·rnz u dhu buul·ik*, *dhu taay·ŭl u dhu au·s*, to *his head*, *the bullock's horns*, *the horse's tail.*

This rule would apply to persons as much as to animals; *Dhee-s u-skwaut· dhu ving·ur oa un*, "Thou hast squeezed his finger;" but would not apply to proper names. "His father," speaking of an inferior, would be *dhu faa·dhur oa un*, but we should say "Jim's father," *Jaak·s ai·d*, "Jack's head." It should be noted that the form *oa*, when used with persons, would imply familiarity and something more. It would imply decided inferiority, and would never be used in speaking of a superior, unless it were intended to show marked disrespect.

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[1] "The shelf was pretty high" is a very common saying—to express inhospitality. The writer heard the above sentence quite recently.

Two nouns are often placed together without inflexion when one of them is understood to be possessive. This occurs in literary English, though not to the same extent. Example: The *mee·ŭl-ai·d* (the mill-pond), the *mee·ŭl-taay·ŭl* (the stream as it flows out from the mill-wheel), *ween·dur zúl* (window sill), *duurn-blae·ŭd* (door-post), *strai·t kau·ndur* (street corner), *ruuv púch* (the pitch of the roof), *taewn gee·ŭt, pik stae·ŭl* (handle of a hayfork), *bruy·dl ai·d* (bridle-head). The use of these forms is quite regular, and conveys to a native a very definite idea, differing from that which he would have if the same nouns were used with the ordinary possessive. Thus the *taay·ŭl u dhu mee·ŭl* is the part whence the *mee·ŭl taay·ŭl* flows out. The *duurn blae·ŭd* is the door-post *in sitû*, but the *blae·ŭd uv u duurn* implies that it is detached from the door-frame or *duurnz*. We should always go into a shop and ask for a new bridle-head, but on the other hand it would be as much the rule to say *dhu ai·d u dhu bruy·dl-z u-broa·kt*, "The head of the bridle is broken."

Again, it would be nearly always said, *dhu ween·dur-zúl du laa·k u bee·t u paa·ynt*, "The window-sill wants a little paint;" but *puut·n au·p pun dhu zúl u dhu ween·dur*, "Put it up on the sill of the window."

This form of the possessive is by no means so general as in the Northern dialect, and the juxtaposition of two nouns would with us only occur in one instance of all those given by Dr. Murray, in his Scotch Dialect, p. 165. We should say *taewn gee·ŭt*, but *taa·p u dhu ee·ŭl* (hill-head), *moa·ŭr u dhu tree* (tree-root), *ai·nd u dhu aewz, taa·p u dhu tree, baa·k u dhu doa·ŭr, kai u dhu doa·ŭr, zuyd u dhu aewz, fae·ŭs u dhu klau·k, taay·ŭl u dhu koa·ŭt, zlee·v u dhu koa·ŭt*, etc.

Sometimes the form of the possessive is literally a matter of life and death. *Aay zeed u shĕeps ai·d tu dhu doa·ŭr* (I saw a sheep's head at the door) implies a dead sheep; but the *ai·d oa u shĕep* implies a living animal.[1]

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[1] In Scotch, on the contrary, a "scheip's heid" is the head of a living sheep; a "scheip-head," that of the dead animal."—M.

When the noun in the possessive has an attributive adjunct, the *s* is very often taken from the noun to which it applies, and tacked on to the adjunct, as *Jan Snèo·k uwt tu Lang·vurdz duung·kĕe,* "John Snook out to Langford's donkey." *Mr. Buurj tu Shoal·dur u Muut·unz pai·g,* "Mr. Bridge of the Shoulder of Mutton's pig."

Sometimes even the *s* is appended to a relative clause, as *dhat-s dhu uum·un waut wuz u-laf· bee-uy·nz chee·ŭl,* "That's the woman what was left behind's child," *i.e.* that is the child belonging to the woman who was left behind.

ADJECTIVES OF QUALITY.

These are most commonly formed and derived as in ordinary English, and, except in their degrees of comparison, have not much peculiarity in their terminations; but the way in which they are used is often most remarkable, belonging, perhaps, rather to the region of slang than of dialect.

Drai·dfèol (dreadful) is a very common adjective, and used alone expresses the very opposite of dread, *i.e.* close attachment. A servant-girl said in my hearing, *Aay wuz drai·dfèol wai mús·us,* meaning, that I was very fond of her and she of me. The adjunct *-ful,* when used to form an adjective, is pronounced with the *f* sharp, as *drai·dfèol, paa·ynfèol, aa·rmfèol* (harmful), *shee·ŭmfèol, pai·sfèol,* etc. When it forms a noun of measure or quantity, it is pronounced *vèol,* as *aa·rmvèol* (armful), *aa·tvèol* (hatful) *buul·ĕevèol* (bellyful). *Skan·lus* (scandalous) always means filthy, befouled, but has no moral significance. I was complaining to a man, to whom I had lent a clean cart, of the very foul purpose to which he had applied it. His reply was, *Ee shaan· bee u-zai·n oa·m skan·lus,* "He (the cart) shall not be sent home scandalous," *i.e.* filthy.

Gyaa·sli (ghastly) would be used to express anything unsightly or dangerous; even to a ragged coat or a shabby hat. An unfenced hole by the roadside would be a *gyaa·sli plae·ŭs*; the look down from any giddy height is almost always described as *maa·yn gyaa·sli. Grai·t* (great) is used only in the sense of close friendship. *Dhai bee tuur·bl grai·t* means, "They are very thick, close friends."[1] The adjective of size is always *guurt* (great).

Much is not often used as an adjective, except without the noun to which it applies, as *dhur waud-n muuch u-laf·*, "There was not much left." *Ee aa·-n u-gau·t muuch,* "He has not got much," *i.e.* money. *Smaa·l* is the opposite of *guurt,* and *lee·dl* (little) of *beg* (big). It is difficult to give any rule by which to determine the cases in which these words would be used respectively, and yet their several uses, as employed by natives, are definite and nearly invariable. For instance, we should always speak of a *guurt pĕes u buurd n chee·z* (great piece of bread and cheese), and a *lee·dl bee·t u mai·t* (little bit of meat); *smaa·l pees u mai·t* means a small joint; *lee·dl pees* is never heard. A small man is generally a *lee·dl bee·t uv u fuul·ur* (little bit of a fellow). Small and big would generally be used predicatively, as the *rúv·ur wuz smaa·l* (*i.e.* the water was low), the *kau·rk-s tu beg* (the cork is too big). In this way *small* would be used with general or impersonal nouns, like water, crop, sample, measure, lot, etc.; while *little* would be used with all definite nouns, as *boy, cup, bag,* etc. *Small* and *big,* when used directly to qualify nouns, would usually be strengthened, or in a way doubled. We should never speak of a small boy, and very seldom of a big horse, but nearly always of a *lee·dl smaa·l bwuuy* or a *guurt beg au·s*. *Large,* too, is in the same way seldom used alone, as a *laa·rj wuyd bai·d* (large wide bed). A numerous progeny is never a large family, but invariably a *lau·ng faam·li* (long family). *Dhaiv u-ae·ŭd u lau·ng aa·rd faam·li,* "They have had a long hard family," is a very frequent expression of sympathy. *Thick* and *thin* mean dense and sparse, and would not be generally used as in conventional English. The literary *thick* and *thin* would be expressed by *beg* and *lee·dl,* when applied to any such article as string, rope, wire, or rods of any kind. "The thread is too thick" would be *dhu draed-z tu beg.* "The lines are too thin," *Dhu lai·ns bĕe tu lee·dl.* In speaking, however, of any membranous substance, as paper, parchment, cloth, etc., *thik* (not *dhik*, which is a demonstrative) and *theen* would be used, as in ordinary English. They would not be used in description of such substances as glue, cement, mortar, clay, etc., but *dhù glùe id-n stuf unuf·*, (the glue is not stiff enough), *dhu maur·turz tu sau·f* (the mortar is too soft). As applied to liquids, *thick* only describes want of clearness or transparency. If it were desired to describe a liquid as having become thick in consistency, *i.e.* in the direction of losing its liquid condition, it would be necessary to use some simile, and in that case thick would be used, as *thik-s trae·ŭkl* (thick as treacle), *thik-s moą·ŭrt* (thick as lard). So of the opposite, *theen-z skil·ĕe*, (thin as workhouse milk and water), *theen-z wau·dr* (thin as water). A thin man is *spae·ŭr*, a thin animal *poo·ŭr*. The true use of thick and thin is seen in the following examples:

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[1] So in the North, the distinction between "grytt," intimate, and "grait" or "gert," great.—M.

Zoa yur zee·ŭd thik, nee·f ĕe muyn vur tae·ŭ[1] *u kraa·p*, "Sow your seed thickly if you wish to have a crop." *Dhu fae·ŭr wuz thik u vŏaks, twuz au·l tùe u dring·ut*, "The fair was thick of folks, it was quite a throng." *Twuz u thee·n maar·kut, un mau·s au·l dhu puynz wuz lee·ŭrĕe* (Germ. *leer*), "It was a thin market, and almost all the pens were empty."

Some adjectives are used in a quaintly literal sense. A tenant said to me of his hilly farm, *taez tuur·ubl*[2] *paa·ynfèol graewn, taez su klaęf·ti*, "It is terribly painful ground, it is so steep."

Those adjectives which are derived from common nouns have almost always their terminations in *ĕe* or *lĕe* as in ordinary English, as *ai·dĕe* (heady=strong), *vèo·tĕe* (footy, *i.e.* full of dregs), *ween·turlĕe* (winterly), etc.; while those derived from abstract nouns usually end in *fèol*, as *shee·ŭmfèol, kee·ŭrfèol, wae·ŭsfèol* (see p. 15). Derivatives from verbs usually terminate in *ĕen* or in *lĕes*, the former being nearly the same as the ordinary present participle, as *drung·kĕen* (drunken), *zwae·ŭrĕen* (swearing), *slaam·ikĕen* (slovenly), *waum·lĕen* (un-steady, going from side to side), *vai·nturlĕes* (venturesome), *yuum·urlĕes* (humoursome), *kuum·burlĕes* (cumbersome, impeding). We have an adjective in *l* which is probably derived from a verb, *shuut·l* (shuttle, *i.e.* very active, quick in movement as a shuttle). *Su shuut·l-z u rab·ut*, "As quick as a rabbit," is a very common expression, and might be applied to a man, a dog, or any animal. The termination *lĕes* is not very often used, but in the few cases where it is heard, it by no means signifies the want of the attribute described, as in *heedless*, etc.; but, as shown above in *vai·nturlĕes*, etc., the termination rather corresponds to *full.* I know of only two adjectives in the dialect ending in *sum: an·sum* (handsome) and *lis·um* (lithe); *tiresome, wholesome,* etc., are not used.[1] We are very fond of the termination *ĕesh*, when we wish to denote an inclination, or a quality short of the positive. This can scarcely be called a diminutive so much as an approach or inclining to the quality described; as *gèo·dĕesh* (goodish), *bae·ŭdĕesh* (badish), *oa·ŭldĕesh* (oldish), *beg·ĕesh* (biggish), *smaa·ldĕesh* (smallish; note the insertion of the *d* after a liquid, see p. 19, Degrees of Comp.), *lee·dldĕesh*, *skee·ŭseesh* (scarcish), *smaa·rtĕesh*, *tau·ldĕesh*, *zauw·urĕesh* (sourish). The same termination, when given to nouns, has the same effect, as *au·sĕesh* (horsy), *roa·yĕesh* (roguish), *bwuuy·ĕesh* (boyish); we should rather prefer, however, in these cases, to use the termination *luyk*, as *gur·dl-luyk* (girlish), *bwuuy·luyk*, *yaal·urluyk* (yellowish). The termination *n*, *en*, or *ĕen*, is very common with us, and is almost invariably added to a noun to denote the material of which the article described is made, and it may be used with any constructive substance whatever, as a *klaa·thĕen koa·ŭt* (cloth coat), *oa·kn kaa·s* (oak cask), *pae·ŭpurn kaa·p* (paper cap), *ladh·urn up·urn* (leathern

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[1] In this instance *tae·ŭ* (to have) is rather emphatic and implies *to be sure of*. Simply *to have a crop* would be *tav u kraa·p*.

[2] This word is ordinarily pronounced *tuur·bl*, but in this instance for emphasis it was drawn out to three syllables. The same often occurs with nouns.

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[1] The following adjectives would either be expressed by the equivalent set opposite to them, or by some other form of speech, probably a simile, if a superlative absolute were intended:

frolicksome	vraul·ikeen
troublesome	truub·leen
meddlesome	mad·leen
wholesome	uul·thĕe (wholesome seems quite lost)
tiresome	tuy·ŭreen, paa·ynfèol, as u paa·ynfèol daiz wuurk
quarrelsome	quau·rdlĕen

apron), *ladh·urn buurd* (bat), *túm·urn èop* (wooden hoop), *glaa·sen juug, kloa·mĕen pae·ŭn* (coarse earthenware), *uy·urnĕen bai·dstai·d* (iron bedstead), *au·rnĕen lan·turn* (horn lantern), *woet·n shee·v* (oat sheaf), *wai·tn brai·d* (wheaten bread), *ai·mpm hroo·ŭp* (hempen rope),[1] *stuuf·m gaewn* (stuff gown), *stoa·ŭnĕen waa·l* (stone wall), *waeks·n* (wax), *vlaeks·n* (flax), *boo·ŭrdn* (board), *uul·umĕen kau·fĕen, tee·nĕen tang·kut* (tin tankard).

Only after nouns ending in *n* or *m* is this adjectival termination lengthened out to *een*.

Degrees of Comparison.

These are formed in the usual manner, by the addition of *ur* and *ĕes* (or *ĕest* when followed by a vowel), except adjectives ending in *l, m, n,* in which cases a *d* is inserted, as—

tau·l	tau·ldur	tau·ldĕes(t[2]	*before a vowel*)	tall
vèol	vèol·dur	vèol·dĕes(t	,,	full
kèol	kèol·dur	kèol·dĕes(t	,,	cool
smaa·l	smaa·ldur	smaa·ldĕes(t	,,	small
lee·dl	lee·dldur	lee·dldĕes(t	,,	little
fuurm	fuurm·dur	fuurm·dĕes(t	,,	firm
ai·vm	ai·vmdur	ai·vmdĕes(t	,,	even
klai·n	klai·ndur	klai·ndĕes(t	,,	clean
klee·ŭn	klee·ŭndur	klee·ŭndĕes(t		
plaa·yn	plaa·yndur	plaa·yndĕes(t	,,	plain
plai·n	plai·ndur	plai·ndĕes(t		
mai·n	mai·ndur	mai·ndĕes(t	,,	mean
green	gree·ndur	gree·ndĕes(t	,,	
fuyn	fuy·ndur	fuy·ndĕes(t	,,	fine
dhee·n	dhee·ndur	dhee·ndĕes(t	,,	thin
thee·n	thee·ndur	thee·ndees(t		
kuyn	kuy·ndur	kuy·ndĕes(t	,,	kind
kee·n	kee·ndur	kee·ndĕes(t	,,	keen
zèo·n	zèo·ndur	zèo·ndĕes(t	,,	soon
vaa·r	vaa·rdur	vaa·rdĕes(t	,,	far
vuur	vuur·dur	vuur·dĕes(t[3]		

Adjectives in *ng*, if monosyllables, sound the *ng* distinctly, and add a *g* in their comparisons, while dissyllables in *ing* are pronounced *ĕen*, and have comparative *ĕenur* or *inur*, as—

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[1] Note change of *n* to *m* after *p* and *f*. See p. 17, West Somerset Dialect.

[2] When (t or (d are found written after any words in this or following lists, it is to be understood that they are sounded only when preceding a vowel or vocal consonant.

[3] With this inserted *d* compare the literary English *th* in *far-ther*, Ags. *ferre(r)*, E.E. *ferrer, farrer, ferder, farder*. The dialect, apparently, like Tudor-English, confounds *farther* and *further*.—M.

lau·ng	lau·ng-gur	lau·ng-gĕes(t	long
yuung	yuung·gur	yuung·gĕes(t	young
strau·ng	strau·ng-gur	strau·ng-gĕes(t	strong
vrau·ng	vrau·ng-gur	vrau·ng-gĕes(t	wrong
wúl·ĕen	wúl·inur	wúl·inĕes(t	willing
blee·jĕen	blee·jinur	blee·jinĕes(t	obliging
kaech·ĕen	kaech·inur	kaech·inĕes(t	infectious
tae·ŭkĕen	tae·ŭkinur	tae·ŭkinĕes(t	attractive
shaam·lĕen	shaam·linur	shaam·linĕes(t	shambling
ai·lĕen	ai·linur	ai·linĕes(t	healing
slaan·tĕen	slaan·tinur	slaan·tinĕes(t	slanting
vurgiv·ĕen	vurgiv·inur	vurgiv·inĕes(t	forgiving
noa·ĕen	noa·inur	noa·inĕes(t	knowing
wik·ud	wik·udur	wik·udĕes(t	wicked
kaef·ti-an·dud	kaef·ti-an·dudur	kaef·ti-an·dudĕes(t	left-handed
bùe·zĕe	bùe·zĕe-ur	bùe·zĕe-ĕes(t	abusive
kspai·nsĕe	kspai·nsĕe-ur	kspai·nsĕe-ĕes(t	expensive
aak·tĕe	haak·tĕe-ur[1]	haak·tĕe-ĕes(t	active

Adjectives in *ive* are all compared by the inflexions as above, while *more* and *most*, even with polysyllables, are used only to supplement, perhaps intensify, the regular comparisons. The use of *more* and *most* is far less frequent than in polite English. When used with adjectives, they go with the corresponding degree, as *moo·ŭr an·diur*, *moo·ĕes fèo·lishĕes* (more handy, most foolish); but in these cases they do not seem to add any weight of expression, and are simple pleonasms. *More* is sometimes used to express *greater*, as *Moo·ŭr fèo·ŭl*[2] *ee· tùe ù dùed ut*, "More fool he to have done it." *Moo·ŭr roa·g-n fèol*, "More rogue than fool." *Dhu moo·ĕes pae·ŭrt oa-m wuz u-goo·*, "The greater part of them were gone." Again, it is used for *left*: *Dhur wau·d-n neet u beet moo·ŭr*, "There was not a bit left." A man said to me, *Dhai bee dhu mau·s kspai·nsĕe-ĕes soa·ŭrt kun ae·ŭ*, "They are the most expensivest sort (you) can have."

The following are very common expressions, to be heard daily: *Dhu ĕem·puduns fuul·ur*, "The impudentest fellow."[3]

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[1] The comparisons being emphatic are very frequently aspirated, if the adjective begins with a vowel.

[2] Compare note 2, p. 17, as to drawing out words into another syllable for emphasis.

[3] Adjectives in *-nt* make superlative in *-uns* for *-untĕes ; dhu uul·iguns kloa·ŭz*, (the most elegant·clothes).

Dhu wik·udẹ̆es luy, "The wickedest lie." *Dhu dae·ŭrshusĕes roag,* "The most audacious rogue." *Aay núv·ur dúd·n zee u moo·ŭr voa·ŭr-ai·dudur fuul·ur,* "I never saw a more wilful fellow." *Ee-z dhu mau·s vại·nturlĕesĕes yuung oa·ŭzbuurd,* "He is the most venturesome young rascal" (whore's-brood, one of the commonest of epithets).

The irregular comparisons are:

gèo·d	bad·r	bas(t
bae·ŭd	wùs	wùs(t
	wùs·ur	wùs·tees(t
mauch múni	moo·ŭr	moo·ĕes(t[1] mau·s

The emphatic forms *wùs·ur, wùs·tĕes,* are the most usual, and almost invariable, when used in direct comparison. *Dhee·ŭz ez u suyt wús,* or, *dhee·ŭz ez u suyt wús·ur-n dhu laas,* "This one is a great deal worse than the last." *Dhai zaed aaw·ur Júm wuz dhu wúst,* or, *dhu wús·tĕest oa-m au·l,* "They said our Jim was the worst," *or* "the worst*est* of them all."

Ill is not an adjective in West Somerset, but a noun, with some word prefixed to denote a part of the body; it generally signifies a sore or wound, as in the well-known king's-evil. *Bris·t-ee·ŭl, uud·ur-ee-ŭl, kwaur·tur-ee·ŭl,* are common cattle ailments of a local character. People are not said to be very ill, but *vuur·ĕe bae·ŭd. Ŭur·dh u-bún· maa·yn bae·ŭd,* "She has been very ill."

Besides the ordinary comparisons, we have a kind of diminutive superlative, or something implying a little short of the superlative proper, made by adding *maus* (most) to the comparative; *bad·rmaus soa·ŭrt oa voaks aur dhingz* means not quite the highest class of people or things; *dhu vuur·durmaus pae·ŭrt oa dhu wai* means not quite to the extreme end of the journey; *dhu huy·nurmaus,* on the other hand, would mean the last of all, as in ordinary English. *Hinder* is not used by us as an adjective, but we frequently use *uyn, uyn een, uyn pae·ŭrt,* in contrast with *voa·ŭr; voa·ŭr een* (fore-end), *voa·ŭr pae·ŭrt oa dhu wik* (beginning of the week), *voa·ŭr kwau·rtur, uy·n kwau·rtur.* So also *Ee·stur-een·*, *Was·tur zuyd,* must be taken to mean the end or side more to the East or West, rather than Eastern and Western. If directly East or West, we should say the *Ee·st een*, the *Wast een.*

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[1] This form is that which would be used alone, as *ee·d u-gau·t dhu moo·ĕes* (he had the most).

Our superlative absolute is formed by prefixing *maa·yn, rae·ŭl, vur·ěe, aun·kaum·un, tuur·bl, mau·rtul, nae·ŭrshun* ('nation), *krùe-ee·ŭl, nauy·ntid,* (anointed), *shau·kěen* (shocking) or some other strong expletive. *Mae·ŭs bee tuur·bl plai·ntěe dee yuur,* "Acorns are very plentiful this year." Observe *dee yuur,* i.e. to-year, like to-day. *Rae·ŭl gèo·d tu dhu poo·ŭr voaks,* "Real good to the poor folks." *Twuz u nauy·ntud shee·ŭm,* "It was an anointed (*i.e.* very great) shame." *Dhu graas dŭ kuut shau·kěen bae·ŭd,* "The grass cuts very badly."

We have an equivalent of the superlative absolute which is more generally used than any of the foregoing. It is the almost constant application of simile to nearly all the actions or qualities of life. Indeed, nearly every adjective in daily use has its own special one belonging to it, and these similes are so generally used that they may be taken to be the natural superlative absolutes of the adjectives to which they belong. *Blai·n-z u baa·tl,* "Blind as a beetle," *i.e.* a mallet, not an insect. *Dai·d-z u aa·mur,* "Dead as a hammer." ("Dead as a door nail" is never heard with us.) *An·děe-z u gúm·lut,* "Handy as a gimlet." This is a very common description of a quick, useful servant. *Kreo·kud-z u daugz uyn lig,* "Crooked as a dog's hind leg." *Straa·yt-s u aa·ru,* "Straight as an arrow." *Green-z u lik,* "Green as a leek." *Aa·rd-z uy·ŭr,* "Hard as iron." This is spoken of persons or animals, and means hardiness or robustness of constitution. *Yal·ur-z u gin·ěe,* "Yellow as a guinea." *Ai·ŭrěe-z u baj·ur,* "Hairy as a badger." *Krab·ud-z u bae·ŭr wai u zoo·ŭr ai·d,* "Crabbed as a bear with a sore head,"—a very common description of a person out of temper. *Brai·dh-z u aa·rsh ěep,* "Breathe (*i.e.* open) as an ash heap." This latter is a very common phrase, and is said of land when thoroughly tilled and pulverized for a seed bed. *Mae·ŭz z-u shěep,* "Mazed (*i.e.* mad) as a sheep." This is the precise equivalent to the conventional "Mad as a March hare." We in the west, however, draw our simile from a well-known disease of sheep, which makes them keep spinning round and round, and when the animal so affected is always said to be *mae·ŭz*. *Rag·ud-z u raa·m*, "Ragged as a ram." At certain seasons of the year the fleece of the ram becomes in a state which makes this simile as apt as it is universal. *Daa·rk-s u bai·g*, "Dark as a bag." *Poo·ŭr-z u uur·ĕen*, "Poor (*i.e.* thin) as a herring,"—the usual description of any very lean animal. *Poo·ŭr-z u rae·ŭmz*, "Thin as a skeleton." *Koa·ŭl-z chuur·utĕe*, "Cold as charity." *Praewd-z u laews*, "Proud as a louse." *Zweet-s u nit*, "Sweet as a nut." *Zaaw·ur-z u grig*, "Sour as a grig." I do not know the meaning of grig, and never heard it applied to any substance or fruit; it is the most usual superlative of sour, and the very name is supposed to set the teeth on edge. *Stuf-s u strad*, "Very stiff." *Stradz* are very hard leather leggings and arm pieces worn in hedging or cutting faggot-wood. A frozen cloth would be described as *u-vree·z su stuf-s u strad·*, "Frozen as (so) stiff as a strad." *Huug·lĕe-z dhu daev·l*, "Ugly as the devil." This is the usual superlative of *ugly*, and the aspirate forms part of the comparison. *Shuut·l-z u rab·ut*, "Quick, active as a rabbit." *Nee·ŭr-z faaw·ŭrpuns ez tu u grau·t*, "Near as fourpence is to a groat." This is the climax of exactness, but it has nothing to do with distance. It would be said of any two things which exactly matched in appearance, or of two valuations which approached closely in amount; or it would be used to express a good fit, or a close joint in masonry or carpentry. *Wai·k-s wau·dr*, "Weak as water."

These similes, which are in daily use among the people, might probably be multiplied so as to include all the adjectives in ordinary use, but in the examples given above are found the most usual forms in which those adjectives here noted are compared in the superlative absolute degree. Observe that the *as* is sometimes sounded *s*, and sometimes *z*, depending on the consonant immediately preceding (cf. p. 4).

Than, after the comparative, is expressed by one form only, viz. by the addition of *n*,[1] changeable after a labial to *m* (see p. 17, West Somerset Dialect), as *Aay doa· noa, nu moo·ŭr-n dhu dai·d,* "I don't know, no more than the dead,"—a very common asseveration. *Dhik·i dhae·ŭr-z beg·ur-n tuudh·ur,* "That one there is bigger than the other." *Aay·d zèo·ndur staa·rv-m dŭe ut,* "I would rather starve than do it." *Bad·r lae·ŭt-n núv·ur,* "Better late than never." *Dhik·ĕe-z úv·ur su muuch wús·ur-n tuudh·ur,* "That one is ever so much wors*er* than the other." Neither *as* nor *nor* is used by us in this sense, but we should say *uur-z yuung bee yùe,* "She is younger than you." The sense here, however, is clearly that she is young beside you, or, measured by you as a standard. So *ai·z tau·l bee ai·,* "He is taller than he." Neither of these expressions can be taken as a form of *than*.

ADJECTIVES OF NUMBER AND QUANTITY.

CARDINAL.	ORDINAL.	CARDINAL.	ORDINAL.
wau·n, wan·	fuus(t	aa·yteen	aa·yteenth
tùe	sak·un	nai·nteen	nai·nteenth
dree	thuurd	twai·ntĕe	twai·ntĕe-ŭth
vaaw·ŭr	faaw·urth	waun un twai·ntĕe	waun un twai·ntĕe-ŭth
vai·v, vuyv	fee·th	tùe· un twai·ntĕe	tùe· un twai·ntĕe-ŭth
ziks	zaekst	dree· un thuur·tĕe	dree· un thuur·tĕe-ŭth
zab·m	zab·mt	vaaw·ur-n faar·tĕe	vaaw·ur-n faar·tĕe-ŭth
aa·yt	aay·t-th	vuyv-m fee·tĕe	vuyv-m fee·tĕe-ŭth
nai·n	nai·nth	ziks un saek·stĕe	ziks-n saek·stĕe-ŭth
tai·n	tai·nth	zab·m un zab·mtee	zab·m un zab·mtĕe-ŭth
lab·m	lab·mth	aa·yt un aa·ytĕe	aa·yt un aa·ytĕe-ŭth
twuulv	twuul·th	nai·n un aa·ytĕe	nai·n un aa·ytĕe-ŭth
dhuur·teen	dhuur·teenth	nai·n un nai·ntĕe	nai·n un nai·ntĕe-ŭth
voo·ŭrteen	voo·ŭrteenth	uun·did	uun·didth
vee·fteen	vee·fteenth	uun·did-n wau·n	uun·did-n fuus(t
zik·steen	zik·steenth	uun·did-n twai·ntĕe	uun·did-n twai·ntĕe-ŭth
zab·mteen	zab·mteenth	tùe uun·did	tùe· uun·didth

lau·ng unn·did (120), thuw·zn, muul·yun.
skao·r (20), skao·r-n aa·f *or* skao·r-n tai·n (30), tùe skao·r (40)
tùe skao·r-n aa·f *or* tùe skao·r-n tai·n (50), dree skao·r (60)
dree skao·r-n aa·f *or* tai·n (70), vaaw·ur skao·r (80)
vaaw·ur skao·r-n aa·f *or* tai·n (90), vai·v skao·r (100), etc.
ziks skao·r (120), zab·m skao·r-n tai·n (150), aa·yt skao·r (160)
nai·n skao·r-n tai·n (190), tai·n skao·r (200), etc.

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[1] This contraction of *than* into *an*, *en*, *'n*, like the kindred *ŭt* for *that*, is common in the English dialects. Though similar forms are found in Danish (en, at) we cannot suppose Danish influence in the Wessex *'n* and *ŭt;* and, similarly, we *need* not call it in for the Northern *at*. See also *uz yuurs* for *these years* (p. 30), as another instance of the dropping of initial *th*.—M.

The reckoning by *scores*, as *vaaw·ur skao·r-n zik·steen* (= 96), *dhuur·teen skao·r-n zab·m* (= 267), is much more usual than *nai·ntĕe ziks*, etc. A bill would be generally made out thus—

"11 score and 14 of Reed @ 11*d*. pr *sheev* £10 14*s*. 6*d*.
3 sc. and 9 Potatoes @ 2*d*. pr lb. 11*s*. 6*d*."

In counting we do not say twenty-one, etc., always one and twenty, etc. If an old man be asked his age, he will say, *Aa·y bee ee·ntu mee aa·ytĕe vaaw·ur*, or *vaaw·ur-n aa·ytee*, "I am in my eighty-fourth year, or four and eightieth"—the latter to an acquaintance, the former to a *jin·lmun*.

Waun, and its negative *noo·ŭn*, are used alone as in conventional English, and before a noun the latter sometimes becomes *noa*, though generally it is *nuudh·ur*. *Ee·d u-gaut au·n wau·n shùe*, *bud noa aa·t*, or if the verb is repeated, we should say, *bud ee ad·n u·gau·t aun nuudh·ur aa·t*, "he had not got on any hat."

Noa would usually be used with general or plural nouns, and *nuudh·ur* with those of the definite or personal class, as *noa wau·dr*, *noa zaa·lt*, *noa shùe·z*, but *nuudh·ur koa·ŭt*, *nuudh·ur bai·d*, etc. The same distinction applies to *any*. *As u-zee·d uudh·ur kaew kau·mĕen au·n?* "Hast seen any cow coming on?" *Deds mĕet ún·ĕe shĕep?* "Didst meet any sheep?" Sheep here would be understood to be plural. If a single one were inquired for, it would always be *uu·dhur shĕep?*

Our multiples are *zing·l* (not *zing-gl*), *duub·l*, *trib·l*, *dree·voal*, *vaaw·ŭrvoal*, etc.

Our fractions are more curious: *aa·f*, *waun pae·ŭrt aewt u dree* (one part out of three, *i.e.* one-third), *tùe pae·ŭrts aewt u dree* (two-thirds), *kwau·rtur*, or *waun pae·ŭrt aewt u vaaw·ŭr* (fourth), *dree pae·ŭrts aewt u vaaw·ŭr* (three-fourths); *dree kwau·rturz* would not be a fraction, but would be understood as three several quarters, as of an apple cut in four, or a carcase divided by a butcher.

The distributives are: *waun aa·dr tuudh·ur*, *tùe un tùe*. *Dhai wai·nt ulau·ng waun aa·dr taudh·ur*,[1] "They went along one after the other," *i.e.* in single file. *Dhai vau·leed dhu aesk tùe un tùe*, "They followed the hearse two by two."

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[1] This word is pronounced both *taudh·ur* and *tuudh·ur*.

INDEFINITE NUMERALS.

Suum, zuum, or *sau·m, zau·m, ún·ĕe, au·l, woal*,[1] *boo·ŭdh, unuuf·, unèo·* (enough), *jich, jish, jis* (such), *uudh·ur, nuudh·ur, unuudh·ur, waun ur tuudh·ur* (one another), *dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr oa-m* (that one, *lit.* that there of them), *dhik tuudh·ur oa-m. Au·l dhu laut* or *dhu woal keet* (both signify *the entire quantity*). So *aul dhu auk·saed* and *dhu woal auk·saed* both mean the entire contents of the hogshead. *Ee urnd au·l dhu wai*, "He ran the entire distance," we should never say *the whole* way. *Whole* would seem to be used with nouns denoting something actually divisible and that could be touched, and would never be used with abstract nouns. "Whole attention" would be impossible as an expression with us; but *dhu woal bwuuy·lĕen* would be a very usual phrase. *Au·l dhu taewn*, would mean all the people in the town; but *dhu woal taewn wuz uun·dur wau·dr* would refer to the streets and houses.

It is most common to place the article before *both* when used alone: *ee tèok dhu boo·ŭdh.* This form is used habitually even by better educated people, as, for instance, in making a purchase, "I'll take the both,"=*tous les deux*, which of course is, analogically, as correct as "I'll take the whole." *Unuuf·, unèo·*, seem to be spoken indiscriminately; some using one form, and some the other. They do not now represent the singular and plural; if they ever did so in this dialect, the distinction is now obsolete. After a verb, and when the noun, adjective or adverb is not expressed, the usual form would be *unèo*, but this is not invariable. On the other hand, we invariably keep to the Teutonic order, and place them after the noun, as *mai·t unèo·* (enough meat). *Enough of* is never used. I overheard a man say to another, *dhee-s u-mae·ŭd smĕech unuuf· vur tu pwuuy·zn dhu daev·l*, "Thee hast raised dust enough to poison the devil." *Unuu·f vur a·it* (enough to eat), *druungk unuuf* (drunk enough), *voaks unuuf·, ee-v u-saa·rd unèo·* (he has earned enough).[2] *Jich, jis, jish*, are equally common, but one or the other is the pronunciation of *such*. They are used in conjunction with *as*, and also without, but generally the article is omitted in a direct comparison. *Jish fuul·ur-z yùe bee au· tu bee angd*, "Such (a) fellow as you are ought to be hanged,"—a very common expression of abuse. *Aay núv·ur daed·n zee noa jis dhing uvoa·ŭr*, "I never did not see no such thing before." *Doa·n tuul au·p ji-stuuf·*,[1] "Don't talk such nonsense." A phrase like, "I wish I had such," would never be heard; we should always complete the sentence with *thing* or the name of the article wished for, as *Aay·d gee úv·ur su mauch vur jish wuurk·s yoa·ŭrz*, "I would give ever so much for such work as yours." Neither do we use *such-like*, though we might say, *Aay weesh aay-d u-gau·t jis dhing luyk*. *Noa jis dhing!* is the most usual form of flat contradiction. *Jich* generally comes before a vowel, as *jich aa·plz* (such apples), *jich è·od* (such wood, *lignum*); *jich u èo·d* (such a wood, *silva*). The use of the article is decidedly emphatic. *Jich u aewz vur kwaur·dlĕen id-n tu bĕe vaewn udheen· twai·ntĕe muy·ŭld oa dhu plae·ŭs*, "Such a house for quarrelling is not to be found within twenty miles." Observe the pleonasm "of the place," which is nearly always added in similar descriptions of distance. *Jish bwuuy vur ai·t aa·plz, aay núv·ur daed·n zee dhu fuul·ur oa un*, "Such a boy for eating apples, I never saw his fellow." The article after *such* is wanting in this verbatim example, but it is sometimes used for emphasis even before a vowel—thus making the awkward sound of two vowels distinctly pronounced one after the other, as in *jich u aewz, jich u èo·d*, etc.

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[1] This word is both *woa·l* and *wŏal*, according to the emphasis. Sometimes it is very long.

[2] Compare the M.E. use of *served*=*deserved, merited.*—M.

Uudh·ur, as already stated, means "any whatever, ever a one," and its negative *nuudh·ur* means "none at all, never a one"; both are construed in this sense, with singular nouns only. *As u-gau·ŭt uudh·ur*[2] *pau·gut?* "Hast got ever a pocket?" *Aay aa·n u-ae·ŭd nuudh·ur*[2] *draa·p uz wik*, "I have not had never a drop at all for a week." But *unuudh·ur=alius*, and *tuudh·ur*=*alter*, are true compounds of *other*. *Gi mee unuudh·ur*, "Give me another." *Wau·n ur tuudh·ur* is simply "each other." *Plai·zur*,[1] *dhai bwuuyz bee u-kik·ĕen wau·n ur tuudh·ur*, "Please Sir, those boys are kicking each other." *Ḍhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr oa-m kaech-n, dhik tuudh·ur oa-m lae·t-n goo ugee·ŭn*, "That one caught him, that other (boy) let him go again." The *oa-m* (of them) is mere pleonasm, but is nearly always used. Observe that *tuudh·ur* is simply *other*, and not *the other*. *Lúm·ee zee· dhee tuudh·ur an*, "Let me see thy other hand." *Yuur·z wau·n, un yuur·z dhu tuudh·ur oa-m*, "Here is one, and here is the other. In the plural the adjective *uudh·ur* is used as in ordinary English, as *uudh·ur voak·sez chúl·ur*, "other people's children;" but the noun form *others* is not used.

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[1] Here, where two *s*s come together, as in *jis stuuf*, one is dropped, and the word is pronounced *jistuuf·*. See also above, *au· tu* for *au·t tu*.

[2] I suppose these words to be corruptions of *e'er-a*, *ne'er-a*, found in other dialects. "I have had *ne'er a drop*." The interchange between *r* and *d*, *dh*, is well known. In Mr. Pulman's "Rustic Sketches," I find these words written *arry*, *narry*. The result is that in West Somerset *uudhur* represents *e'er a*, *other*, and *either* (M.E. *awther*, *other*).—M.

Of the distributives *each* and *every* we use the latter only, the former is never heard. *U′v·urĕe graa·s moo·ŭt oa-m du vang ez oa·ŭn draa·p u jùe*, "Every blade of grass catches (*i.e.* holds) its own drop of dew" (compare this sentence in Dr. Murray's Scotch Dialect, p. 177). *U′v·urĕe dai* is a week-day, or *wik·ud-dai* (!) *Neef ee ded·n goo tŭ chuurch een ez úv·urĕe dai kloa·ŭz!* "If he did not go to church in his every-day clothes!"

Either and *neither* are again expressed by *uudh·ur* and *nuudh·ur*; they are, moreover, both adjectives and conjunctions. As adjectives, however, the noun or its substitute is always expressed. *Uudh·ur waun oa-m-l dùe*, "Either will do." *Nuudh·ur shùe oa-m waud-n baeg unuuf·*, "Neither shoe was large enough." *Dhee kas-n dùe ut nuudh·ur*, "Thou canst not do it either."[2] *Neither* is also expressed by *noa moa·r*. *Noa moa·r kaa·n yùe*, "Neither can you."

We have many words and phrases by which we indicate an indefinitely large number, of which *suyt*, *bwuuy·ŭlĕen*, *keet* (kit), *mas* (mess), *lau·t*, are the most used. These would be enlarged or diminished by adjectives, the meanings of which would be more or less modified if measured by standard English. *A puur·tĕe lau·t oa voaks* means a crowd, or at least a great number of people. *Tuur·ubl suyt oa mau·lskrau·lz dĕe yuur*, "There are a great quantity of caterpillars this year." *Dhur wuz u fuyn bwuuy·lĕen oa-m*, "There was a fine boiling of them." *U mau·rtl keet o stau·k tu fae·ŭr*, "Great number of animals (for sale) at the fair." *Dhurz u mas u aa·plz u-raa·tĕen*, "There is a quantity of apples rotting."

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[1] As before explained, see note 1, p. 27, when two *s*s come together, one is dropped. So here, when two *z*s follow each other; and instead of *plai·z zur*, we say *plai· zur*.

[2] So frequently in O.E. Thus "Exposition of the Holy Rood," ed. Morris, E.E.T.S. No. 46, p. 125, l. 115:

> Þat if þaire men on *owþir* side
> Come for to help þam in þat tide.

And in conjunction:

> *Nothyr* in flesche, *nothir* in fysche.—*Babees Book*, p. 18.

But the pronoun form *owthir*, *awthir*, was more Northern than Southern.—M.

DISTINGUISHING ADJECTIVES.

A, *an*, are always *ŭ*, never *ŭn*, as *aay zee·d u aum·liguus vèol oa oa·l soa·ŭjurz*, "I saw *a* omnibus full of old soldiers." *The* is *dhŭ*, tending before vowels to become *dh-*, as *dh-oa·ld uum·un*, "the old woman, the wife." After *to*, it is often omitted, as *ĕen·t-aewz*, into *or* in the house; *au·p t-ee·ŭl* (up at the hill). *Daewn tu fae·ŭr*, "Down at the fair." *Aa·y meet-n ĕen·tu maa·rkut*, "I met him at the market." The emphatic is *dhai·*. *Dhaat-s dhai· bèok*, "That's *the* book."

Of the special demonstratives we have two classes, which are used according to the particular kind of noun which has to be demonstrated.

All abstract nouns; the names of all the elements or of all substances or metals of undefined shape; all raw materials, and even manufactured stuffs while in the piece; as cloth, wool, sugar, copper, corn, water, air, etc., *i.e.* all such as cannot take *a* before them, may be classed as indefinite nouns, and they have their own special form of demonstrative.

All articles or things of specific shape or purpose, which can be individualized by prefixing *a* or *an*, as *a* cloth, tree, apple, house, table, etc., may be classed as definite nouns having their own demonstratives. The distinction is as follows:—

Singular.

DEFINITE.	INDEFINITE.
	uz *or* z = this
dhee·ŭz *or* dhee·ŭz yuur *or* dhee·ŭzh yuur	dhús *or* dhúsh yuur = this, near at hand
dhik *or* dhik·ĕe	dhaat = that
dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr	dhaat dhae·ŭr = that, not so near

Plural Definite.

uz *or* z *or* s = these
dhai·z yuur *or* dhèo·z yuur = these
dhai *or* dhai dhae·ŭr = those

As nouns of the indefinite class have no plural, so we have no plural demonstratives for them.

In addition to the above we have *uz*[1] used in a particularly idiomatic way for *this* or *these*, to distinguish periods of time, see the example given in p. 11. *Maa·rĕed ugee·ŭn uz yuurz*, i.e. for a period extending over some years. *Aay aa·n u-zeed-n uz wik*, "I have not seen him this week." Here it is understood that *this week* does not mean the seven days commencing last Sunday, which would be *dhee·ŭz wik*, but for a period extending over a week of time. *Dhai bún u-goo· uz aaw·ur*, "They (have) been gone this hour," *i.e.* for an hour. *Wee aa·n u-kĕep uun·ĕe vaaw·ur uz lau·ng-fèol tuym*, "We have only kept four *this* long time."

The use with us of the adverbs *here* and *there*, pronounced *yuur* and *dhae·ŭr*, in combination with the demonstratives, serves to express fine shades of meaning as to the nearness or distance of the object referred to, which are perfectly understood by natives, but which are far beyond the power of expression by *this* and *that* of received English. *Puut dhis wai·t tu dhik eep*, "Put this wheat to that heap." *Gee dhee·ŭz au·s saum u dhaat aa·y*, "Give this horse some of that hay." *Maeks au·p dhaat dhae·ŭr manùe·ur een dhik·ĕe lún·ee*, "Mix up that manure in that shed." *Dhaat dhae·ŭr*, in this example, would imply that the manure was not present to the speaker. Manure is an artificial compound with a new-fangled name; our forefathers called all fertilizers *dras·ĕen* (dressing). Every kind of shed is a *lún·ĕe*, written *linhay* in local advertisements, etc., except that where horses are shod, this is always *dhu pai·ntĕes* (pent-house). *Droa dhúsh yuur múlk een·tu dhee·ŭz kan*, "Throw this milk into this can." *Tae·ŭk dhee·ŭz pik un tuurn*

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[1] This *uz* is very frequently contracted into *-z*. In rapid speech many individuals would pronounce the above *ugee·ŭn-z yuurz*, *u-zeed-n-z wik*, *vaaw·ur-z lau·ng fèol*. *Long* when used with *time* is generally *lau·ng fèol*. *Uz* is often similarly contracted when it stands for the possessive *his*. See Possessive Pronouns, p. 40.

oa·vur dhúsh yuur duung. Tae·ŭk dhee·ŭz shuw·ul un muuv dhee·ŭz eep oa duurt, "Take this shovel and move this heap of dirt" (*i.e.* soil). *Dhik*, or *dhik·ĕe*, corresponds almost precisely to Latin *iste*, and *dhik dhae·ŭr*, or *dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr*, to Latin *ille*. *Lat dhu kaa·fmdur puut dhik stae·ŭl een·tu dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr maup,* "Let the carpenter put that handle into that (yonder) mop." *Wuur-s git dhik aa·pl? uwt oa dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr au·rchet?* "Where didst get that apple? out of that orchard?" *Ee-kn ae·ŭ dhèo·z yuur tae·ŭdĕes ur dhai dhae·ŭr, weech ĕe wuul,* "You can have these potatoes or those, which you will." *Dhai dhae·ŭr bwuuyz-v u-toa·ŭrd dhèo·z yuur ween·durz,* "Those boys have broken these windows." *Vach dhaat dhae·ŭr èo·d uwai· vrum dhik·ĕe èo·d,* "Fetch that (faggot) wood away from that wood." Here, of course, one *èo·d* is definite, the other indefinite. *Wuz dhaat dhae·ŭr gèo·d zee·ŭd haut ĕe puut een·tu dhik·ĕe vee·ŭl oa graewn?* "Was that good seed which (what) you put into that field?" *Dhèo·z pai·z bee fuyn·dur-n dhai,* "These peas are finer than those." *Dhúsh yuur graewn-z brai·dhur-n dhaat dhae·ŭr,* "This soil is more tilled, *i.e.* opener than that." *Dhaat dhae·ŭr* is used with anything of the indefinite sort, as corn, grass, lime, to denote its position as more remote than *dhúsh yuur*, i.e. close at hand. In speaking, however, even of any defined article, as a book, a key, or a man, if altogether absent, we should use *dhaat dhae·ŭr*. *Aa·v ĕe zeed dhaat dhae·ŭr nai·v oa muyn?* "Have you seen that knife of mine?" *Ue wuz dhaat dhae·ŭr mae·ŭn?* "Who was that man?" *Aay kèodn kaech dhaat dhae·ŭr koalt,* "I could not catch that colt." In the same manner *dhai dhae·ŭr* would be used of things absent. *V-ĕe*[1] *zoa·ld dhai dhae·ŭr buul·iks?* "Have you sold those bullocks?" referring to some that had been previously spoken of, but not now present. The same form of speech might, however, be used with reference to things present, yet, from the gesture or intonation of the speaker, he would not be misunderstood.

We never use the form *them* or *thesem* as demonstratives.

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[1] *Have* and *hast* are very frequently contracted into *v* as above, and *s*—both when beginning a question and when used affirmatively, as *s-u-gaut dhee wae·ŭjez?* "Hast got thy wages?" (See Auxiliary Verbs.)

Unlike the Dorset, "I think *them* housen better than theäsem," we should say, *Aay du dhingk dhai aewz·ez bee bad·r-n dhai·z yuur·.*

In cases where *those* forms the antecedent to a relative, we always say *dhai*. *Dhai dhut dùed ut ul ae·ŭ tu paa·y vaur ut,* "Those who did it will have to pay for it." *Dhur-z dhai kun tuul ee au·l ubaew·d ut,* "There are those (who) can tell you all about it." Observe the omission of the relative (see post). When *dhis* or *dhee·ŭz*, *dhik* or *dhaat*, are used alone, the distinction between the kind of thing referred to is still carefully maintained. Of a knife it would be said, *Dhee·ŭz*, or *dhik·ĕe-z muyn,* "This or that is mine." But of a quantity of hay or corn, or any substance of undefined shape, it would be said, *dhúsh yuur-z* or *dhaat dhae·ŭr-z yoa·ŭrz.*

But when the noun, whatever be its quality or number, has been already mentioned, or is to be named, in the same sentence, it is referred to by the neuter or indefinite form of the demonstrative *dhaat*, *dhis*, and not *dhik*, *dhee·ŭz*, as *ùe·z au·s ez dhaat?* "Whose horse is *that?*" *ùe·z bèo·ts ez dhaat?* "Whose boots *is that?*" *ez dhaat dhae·ŭr yoa·ŭr chúl·urn?* "Is *that* your children?" Compare the German use of the neuter, in *Wessen Hund ist* das? *Wessen Stiefeln sind* das? *Sind* das *Ihre Kinder?* And the French invariable *cela* or *ça: Ces enfants sont heureux,* cela *ne fait que jouer.* Ça *n'a plus d'autre père que le bon Dieu!*

PRONOUNS.

The use of the pronoun of the third person resembles that of the demonstrative adjective, with respect to the class of noun for which it is substituted. Every class or definite noun, *i.e.* the name of a thing or object which has a shape of its own, whether alive or dead, is either masculine or feminine, but nearly always the former; indeed, the feminine pronouns may be taken as used only with respect to persons. For instance, in chaffering for a sow, it would be said, *Wuul, neef tez· u zuw, ee ul git au·n,* "Well, if it is a sow, *he* will get on," *i.e.* get fat. *Dhae·ŭr nuw! dhee-s u-taord dhu púch·ur. Noa aay aa·nt, ee-z* *uun·ĕe u-krae·ŭz*, "There, now! thou hast broken (torn) the pitcher. No, I have not, *he* is only crazed," *i.e.* cracked. A tool, book, house, coat, cat, letter, etc., are all spoken of as *he*. Sometimes even for a woman the pronoun *he* is used; for example, a man said to me of his daughter, in recommending her as a servant, *Uur-z u maa·yn guurt strau·ng maa·yd, ai ai·z*, "*Her's* a main great strong maid, *he* is." But *uur ai·z* would be more common.

It is simply an impersonal or abstract pronoun, used to express either an action or a noun of the undefined sort, as cloth in the quantity, water, snow, air, etc. *Aay núv·ur ded·n noa ut zu koa·l*, "I never knew *it* (the weather) so cold." *Lat dhu haa·y buyd, t-l druw·ĕe*, "Let the hay stay, *it* will get dry." *Lat dhu koa·ŭt buyd gin ee-v u-druw·ud*, "Let the coat stay until *he* has become dry." *T-wau·dn gèo·d dringk*, "It was not good drink," *i.e.* beer. *Dhee kas-n kau·m ut*, "Thou canst not do *it*." We also frequently use *it* instead of *them* as a plural, especially when referring to a number of objects of the same kind, as *Ted·n noa yùes vur tu kĕep u paa·sl u dhingz un staa·rv ut*, "It is no use to keep a parcel of things, *i.e.* live stock, and starve *it*," i.e. them.

The Personal Pronouns are—

		1 SING.	1 PL.	2 SING.	2 PL.
Nom.	full	aa·y, aa·	wee·	dhee·	yùe
	unemphatic	aay, aa, ŭ	wĕe	dhĕe	ĕe[1]
	interrog. enclitic	ŭr, ĕes	ŭs, ŭr	dhee	ĕe, ŭr
	unconnected	mee	uus	dhee·	yùe
Obj.	unemphatic	mĕe, mŭ	us, s,	dhĕe, dhŭ	ĕe
	emphatic or prepositional	mee, aa·y	wee, uus	dhee·	yùe

		3 M. AND N. DEF.	3 F.	3 N. INDEF.	3 PL.
Nom.	full	ee·, ai·	uur	...	dhai
	unemph.	ee, ai, ŭ	ŭr, ŭ	t, ut	dhăi
	interrog. encl.	ŭ, ur	ŭr, ŭ	ŭt	ŭm
	unconnected	ee·	uur	...	dhai
Obj.	unemph.	ŭn, n(m)	ŭr	ŭt	um, m
	emphatic prep.	ee·	shee·	...	dhai

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[1] The short marks here used to show clearly the quantity are not always used in the text. The second person plural has generally been written *ĕe* to distinguish it from the third person singular, inasmuch as, though alike in quality, the former is shorter.

The first two forms are used when the nominative stands before its verb, with or without emphasis, as '*you* went,' 'you went'; the third after a verb interrogatively, as 'did you?' its second variety in the interrogative ending of a sentence, as 'I am going, am not I?' 'he went, did he?'; the *unconnected* as in 'who went? I? 'you and I'; the *objective unemphatic*, as in 'I saw you'; the emphatic, as in 'I saw *you*,' or after a preposition, as 'he took it from *her*.'

The regular form of the nominative first person is *aay* (or *aa* when followed by *l*, as *aa·l git-n vau·r-ĕe, aay wuol·*, "I'll get it for you, I will"), except in interrogative phrases, or the question after an assertion, as *Aa·y kn ab-m, kaa·n ĕes?* "I can have it, can I not?" Observe the *aay* here is emphatic. *Bee gwaa·yn, bae·ŭn ĕes?* "I am going, am I not?" In this we have an example of the very frequent omission of the pronoun; when the sentence begins with a verb, the pronoun, whether personal or impersonal, is usually dropped. *Kèo·d-n dùe ut, kèo·d-n ur?* "(One) could not do it, couldn't one?" *Kaa·n tuul·ĕe*, "I cannot tell you." *Wau·dn ae·ŭbl tùe, wau·z-ur?* "*He* was not able, was he?" *Paa·s lau·ng dhik wai, ded·n-um?* "They passed along that way, did they not?" The form *ĕes* given above, in *bae·ŭn ees?* has been often written *ice*, and considered a trace of the *ich*, *utchy*, *ch*, about which so much has been said by Jennings and others; but as here used it seems to be only the plural, instead of the singular. Precisely as in ordinary school-boy talk, "let's see, let's look," is said for "let me look," so, *kaa·n-ĕes* would be "can't us." Since this paper was written, I have ascertained that in a small district containing two or three villages—among which is Kingsbury, giving its name to a very large Hundred in the old county maps—the use of *utch* for I is still common; there they still say, *uuch un uum-l goa*, "I and he will go." This very limited district is far beyond the Parrett, and lies close to Hamdon Hill, the sharp peak above Montacute.[1] Again,

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[1] See the Appendix to Prince L. L. Bonaparte's paper "On the Dialects of Monmouthshire, Herefordshire," etc., read before the Philol. Soc. April 7, 1876 (*Phil. Trans.* 1875–6, pp. 570–581), proofs of which have reached me since the above was

ur is used interrogatively for the nominative *I*, both instead of *ĕes* when final, and when followed by other words, in which case *ĕes* is seldom used, as *Aa·l vach·n, shaa·l uur ?* "I will fetch it, shall I?" *Shl ur zai·n vau·rn ?* "Shall I send for it?" *Muus·n ur goo·?* "Must I not go?"

The objective *mee* is the most usual, but in the hill-country and towards North Devon the form *mŭ* is quite general; both these forms are unemphatic. Emphasis is usually given by intonation, and I have even heard the short *mu* emphasized. Occasionally *Aay* is used in the objective case, but by individuals only, and it is not the rule, as *Gee aay dhik*, "Give I that." *Lat aay ab-m*, "Let I have it." We should never say "give it to I," but always "to me." Again, *mee* corresponds to French *moi*. Who is there? Me. Who did that? *twau·d-n mee, twuz ee·.*

The second person singular is most generally used by seniors to their juniors, by boys to each other, and by farmers to their servants or labourers. It is used to express anger, contempt, and also endearment, but it usually implies much familiarity, and would never, except for intentional impertinence, be used by an inferior; but its form is always *dhee; thou* is never heard. *Dhu* (thee) is again rather more heard in North Devon than with us.

In the 3rd person *ee* and *ai* are simply individual varieties, but when emphatic, I have only heard *ee*. *Uur* or *ur* is the usual feminine third person singular, both nominative and objective, but *shee* is the emphatic objective. *Ee* and *ur* are both sometimes contracted into *u*. See example, Past Aff. of *Will*, p. 62.

Ur wid·n lat uur· ab-m, bud ur gid-n tu shee·, "She would not let her have it, but she gave it to *she*," i.e. a third female. *Ur* is constantly, indeed always, used for *he* interrogatively, except when particular emphasis is required, as *Ee oa·n dùe*

printed, in which the author gives his personal testimony to the existence of *utch*, *utchy*, in the same district; also Mr. Pulman's "Rustic Sketches," London, J. R. Smith, 1871, p. 153, the only note upon which I would make is that "*Ise* try" in the Shakspere quotation does not mean *I* try, but *I shall* try. In reference to the result of the Prince's investigations on "*ize, ise, ees*, for I," I can only repeat that in this dialect *ĕes* is only used, as shown above, interrogatively and *finally*, and that its connexion with *ich* is very doubtful.

ut, wuol ur? "He will not do it, will he?" *Ad-ur bin u-wau·ytĕen vuur·ĕe laung?* "Had he been waiting very long?" *Wuz ee· dhu mae·ŭn?* "Was *he* the man?"

Our objective *him* is always *un, n,* unless it is emphatic, when it is *ee*, and unless (see W. S. D. p. 17) it follows *p, b, f,* when it becomes *m: Tuul-n tu staa·p-m,* "Tell him to stop him." *Gee un uz muun·ĕe,* "Give him his money." *Dhai núv·ur spoak tùe un,* "They never spoke to him." *Uur ded·n zai noa·ŭrt tŭ ee·,* "She did not say anything to *he*."

Our first person nominative plural is commonly *wee*, and, unlike Devonshire, *us* is seldom used, except interrogatively, as: *Shl-uus bee-n tuym?* "Shall we be in time?" *Wee* is also the emphatic objective. *Muyn un zai·n un tu wee·,* "Mind and send it to *us*." In an interrogative phrase, at the end of a sentence, *ur* even is used for *we*, as *Lat-s goo, shaal-ur?* "Let us go, shall we?" *Lat-s ae·ŭ-r voa·r-nèonz tu wauns,* "Let us have our lunch at once."

Yùe is emphatic, the common form being *ĕe* (=ye). *Ee ded·n zai zoa, ded ĕe?* "You did not say so, did you?" *Wuz ut yùe aay zeed, ur yur bridh·ur?* "Was it you I saw, or your brother?" *Ur* is also used for *you* interrogatively, as well as for *he*. *Yùe muyn dhaa·t naew, wŭol·ur?* "You mind that now, will you?" *An oa·vur dhik eks, wŭol·ur?* "Hand over that axe, will you?" *Yùe un mee bee dhu bwuuyz,* "You and *me* are the boys." *Dhai un uus wai·n tugadh·ur,* "They and *us* went together." *Mee! aay bae·ŭn gwaa·yn,* "Me! I am not going." *T-wau·dn ee·, twuz mee·,* "It was not he, it was me." *T-wuz uur·, twau·dn mee,* "It was *her*, not me." (With the following compare Dr. Murray's Scotch, p. 191.) *Gi-m·ĕe yur an·. Tuul mĕe au·l u-baewd ut. Ee aa·t mee een dhu ai·d. Dhaa·t dhae·ŭr wuz u bae·ŭd jau·b vau·r ĕe. Aay zeed dhu boo·ŭdh oa ĕe,* or *Aai zee·d ĕe boo·ŭdh. Ded ĕe yuur-n? Aav ĕe u-yuurd ut. Wid ĕe noa· un, neef· ĕe zee·dn? Puut dhu kuuv·ur paun· un. Dhur id·n noa·ŭrt een· ut. Gee ur ur jùez. Lat· ur goo lau·ng. Bring us u vùe pai·ŭrz. Aa·l giv· ĕe sau·m. Ee vau·lĕed um. Uur braa·t um* or *tùe· um. Ee tèo·k-um uwai· vrau·m um.* Meanings: "Give me your hand. Tell me all about it. He hit me *in* the head. That

		TO.	FROM.	IN.	ON.	OF.	WITH.	GIVE.
me		ti mi ti mu	vraum mi	ĕen mi	paun mi	u mi	wŭo mi	gim·i
	emphatic	tu mee·	vrum mee·	ĕen mee·	pun mee·	u mee·	wai mee·	gimee·
		tùe mi	vrau·m mi	ee·n mi	pau·n mi	oa· mi	wai· mi	gee· mi
thee		tu dhee	vraum dhee	ĕen dhee	paun dhee	u dhee	wŭo dhee	gidh·ee
		tu dhu	vraum dhu	ĕen dhu	paun dhu	u dhu	wŭo dhu	gidh·u
	emphatic	tu dhee·	vrum dhee·	ĕen dhee·	pun dhee·	u dhee·	wŭo dhee·	gidhee·
		tùe· dhee	vrau·m dhu	ee·n dhu	pau·n dhee	oa· dhee	wai· dhee	gee· dhee
him		tùe un	vraum· un	ĕen un	paun· un	oa un	wai un	gee un
	emphatic	tu ee·	vrum ee·	ĕen ee·	pun ee·	u-ee·	wi-ee·	gi-ee·
		tùe· un	vrau·m un	ee·n un	pau·n un	oa· un	wai· un	gee· un
her		t-uur	vraum· ur	ĕen· ur	paun· ur	oa ur	wi-ur	geeur
	emphatic	tu shee·, uur·	vrum uur·, shee·	ĕen uur·, shee·	pun uur·, shee·	u uur·, shee·	wi-uur·, shee·	gi-uur·, shee·
		tùe· ur	vrau·m ur	ee·n ur	pau·n ur	oa· ur	wai·ur	gee·ur
it[1]		tùe ut	vraum· ut	ĕen ut	paun· ut	oa ut	wai ut	gee ut
	emphatic	tùe· ut	vrau·m ut	ee·n ut	pau·n ut	oa· ut	wai·ut	gee·ut
we		tùe-s	vraum· us	ĕen us	paun· us	oa-s	wai-s	gee-s
		tùe us				oa us	wi-us	gi-us
	emphatic	tu uus·	vrum uus·	ĕen uus·	pun uus·	oa uus·	wi uus·	gi-uus·
		tu wee·	vrum wee·	ĕen wee·	pun wee·	oa wee·	wi wee·	gi-wee
		tùe· us	vrau·m us	ee·n us	pau·n us	oa· us	wai·us	gee·us
you		t-ee	vraum· ĕe	ĕen ĕe	paun· ĕe	oa ĕe	wŭo dh·ĕe	giv·ĕe
								gi·ĕe
	emphatic	tu yùe·	vrum yùe·	ĕen yùe	pun yùe·	oa yùe·	wi yùe·	gi yùe·
		tùe· ee	vrau·m ĕe	ĕe·n ĕe	pau·n ĕe	oa· ĕe	wai·ĕe	gee·ĕe
them		tùe um	vraum· um	ĕen um	paun· um	oa um	wai um	gee um
		tùe-m				oa·m	wai-m	gee-m
		tu mun[2]	vraum mun	ĕen mun	paun mun	oa mun	wai mun	gee mun
	emphatic	tu dhai·	vrum dhai·	ĕen dhai·	pun dhai·	oa dhai·	wi dhai·	gidhai·
		tùe· um	vrau·m um	ee·n um	pau·n um	oa· um	wai· um	gee·um
		tùe· mun	vrau·m mun	ee·n mun	pau·n mun	oa· mun	wai· mun	gee·mun

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[1] The impersonal pronoun is never emphasized; the stress is always on the preposition or verb.

[2] *Mun* is the commonest form of "them" in North Devon and the Exmoor district of Somerset, but is never emphasized. When emphasis is required, it is laid on the preposition or verb.

was a bad job for you. I saw you both. Did you hear him? Have you heard it? Would you know it (*i.e.* some definite object) if you saw it? Put the cover on it (definite). There's nothing in it (indef.). Give her her dues. Let her go. Bring us a few pears. I'll give you some. He followed them. She brought them to them. He took them away from them."

The objective indirect, as given by Dr. Murray, cannot be expressed so clearly in our dialect, but amongst speakers this is done by intonation or emphasis, as: *Gĕe mee yur an·. Tuul mee· au·l u-baewd ut. Twuz u bae·ŭd jau·b vur yùe, dhaat dhae·ŭr wau·z. Aay zeed yùe, boo·ŭdh oa· ĕe. Ded ĕe yuur ee·? V-ĕe u-yuurd oa dhaat dhae·ŭr? Wid ĕe noa dhik neef ĕe zeed-n?* The emphatic form of IT has no equivalent with us. *Doa·n-ĕe bee zu aa·rd pun ·ee. Lat uur goo-lau·ng. Bring zum*[1] *pai·urz tu wee. Aa·l gee yùe u vùe. U vaul·eed dhai.* Meanings: "Give ME your hand. Tell ME all about it. That was a bad job for YOU. I saw YOU both. Did you hear HIM? Have you heard of IT? Would you know IT (def.) if you saw it? Don't be so hard upon HIM. Let HER go! Bring US some pears. I'll give YOU a few. He followed THEM."

We cannot join two pronouns, as in "give it me, *or* give me it," we must say *gee un tu mee;* but we can join a pronoun and a demonstrative, as *gee mee dhik.*

Our *dhai* corresponds to French *on; dhai dŭ zai* = *on dit. Dhai bee gee·ĕen vaaw·ur-n ziks vur baa·rlĕe*, means that 4*s.* 6*d.* per bushel is the market price for barley. *Dhai zúls suy·dur bĕe dhu pak, un dhai vrak·nz thuur·tĕe pak tùe u auk·saed,* means that cider is usually sold by the peck, and that thirty pecks go to a hogshead.

Our indefinite personal pronouns are *dhai* and *ún·ĕe-bau·dĕe* (anybody), and these are quite as much used by us as *on* is by the French. Interrogatively we use *ur*, and inasmuch as a large proportion of the sentences in ordinary talk end in an interrogative phrase, this form must not be lost sight of. *U′n·ĕe-bau·dĕe-ḍ luy·k vur tu goo, wid-n ur naew?* "One would like (for) to go, would one not now?" The distinction between *dhai* and *ún·ĕe-bau·dĕe*, as indefinite pronouns, is that the former excludes the speaker as *on dit*, while the latter includes the speaker as *on peut*. Both forms are construed as plural, although by the context it is clear that only one person is referred to. *Du au·vĕes dùe ú·nĕe-bau·dĕe u suyt oa gèo·d*, "It always does one a sight of good." The amount of benefit received by anything whatever, from a shower of rain or a dressing of manure, to a *kuup oa suy·dur*, is invariably "a sight o' good." *Tid-n sae·ŭm-z au·f ún·ee-bau·dĕe kèod goo·, dhurzuul·*, "It is not as though one could go, *themselves*." *U'n·ĕe-bau·dĕe múd wuurk dhur ving·urz*[1] *tu boo·unz neef dhai wŭol, un dhai wid-n git thang·kĕe vaur· ut nuudh·ur*, "One might work *their* fingers to bones if *they* will, and *they* would not get 'thank you' for it neither." The same rule applies to the other compounds, *sum·baudĕe*, *noa·baudĕe*, *úv·urĕebau·dĕe*, etc.[2]

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[1] *Some* is pronounced *zau·m* when emphasized, but when spoken quickly it is *zum* or even *zm*, if a vowel follows.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that *ur* does duty in particular cases for six different persons, besides representing other parts of speech; *daed·ur?* may be did *I*, did *he*, did *she*, did *we*, did *you*, did *one*, according to the context. Affirmatively it is unemphatic for *uur*, she, her; also for *our* and for *or*.

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[1] *Finger* is always pronounced *ving·ur*, not *ving·gur*.

[2] The 3rd person singular *ŭn* and plural *ŭm* are the Ags. *hine*, *heom*, E.E. *hin*, *hem*, *'em*, the *h* being lost, as in the singular *ee*, *ai*, *ŭ*, Old English *a*. "Let his father be what *a* will."—Shaksp. Merch. Ven. ii. 2. So, "Your charm so strong works *'em*."—Tempest, v. 1. The feminine *uur*, *ur*, is the Ags. *heo*, E.E. *ho*, *hoo*, with loss of initial *h* and addition of *r*, which has left it identical with the objective *her*, although quite distinct in history. (*R*, as already observed, is added to many words which originally ended in a vowel.) The Northern *she* (so slowly accepted in Southern English) is only used as an emphatic objective. *Them* is not yet accepted, though *their* is; Chaucer used *they*, but not *their* nor *them*. My impression as to the *interrogative ĕes* for I, is that it is not derived from *ich*, though, when *ich* was falling into desuetude in the district, it may have been confounded with the plural *ŭs*, and have left *ĕes* as the resultant. The use of *us*, in the nom. plural interrogative, may be compared with Shakspere's frequent shall's: "*Shall's* to the Capitol?"—Coriol. iv. 6. 148, where I do not believe in Dr. Abbott's explanation of *shall* as an impersonal verb. *I*, *he*, *she*, are frequent as emphatic objectives, and *thee* as emphatic nominative in Shakspere: "The hand of *she* here—what's her name?"—A. & C. iii. 13. "I am not *thee*."—Timon, iv. 3. But Shakspere critics are very unwilling to admit the dialectal character of much of his language, for dialects are to most of them "vulgar," and, what is worse, *unknown* domains.—M.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The adjective possessives are *maay* (unemph. *mĕe*, *mĭ*, rarely *mŭ*), *dhaay*, *dhuy* (unemph. *dhĕe*, *dhi*, rarely *dhŭ*), *eez* (unemphatic *ez*, *z*, *s*), *uur* (unemph. *ur*), *aaw·ŭr*, *yoa·ŭr*, *yùe* (unemph. *yur*, *ĕe*), *dhae·ŭr*, *dhur*. The absolute possessives are *maayn*, *muyn*, *dhaayn*, *dhuyn*, *eez*, *uurz*, *aaw·ŭrz*, *yoa·ŭrz*, *dhae·ŭrz*.

Wuur-z mi aa·t ? "Where is my hat?" *Ez ut maay tuurn ?* "Is it my turn?" *Dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr-z muyn*, "That is mine." *Zeed aaw·ŭr Jan ?* "(Have you) seen our John?" *Dhai bee·ŭs bee aaw·ŭrz*, "Those bullocks are ours." *Dhee-s u-broa·kt dhi buur·chez*, "Thou hast torn thy breeches." *Dhaats dhuy dùe·in*,[1] "That is thy doing." *T-wuz dhuyn*, "It was thine." *Dhae·ŭrz yur muun·ĕe*, "There is your money." *T-ez yoa·ŭr bai·g*, "It is your bag." *T-wau·d-n yoa·ŭrz*, "It was not yours." *V-ĕe gid-n-z mai·t ?* "Have you given him his food?" *Uur aa·t ur ai·d*, "She hit her head." *Aay bee saa·f t-wuz eez (uur) traa·k*, "I am sure it was his (her) footprint." *Uw d-ĕe noa t-ez eez, uurz ?* "How do you know it is his, hers?" *His'n*, *her'n*, *our'n*, *your'n*, *their'n*, are not heard with us. In speaking to children *yùe* instead of *yoa·ŭr* (or *ĕe* for *yur* when short), is constantly used. *Yùe an*, *yùe aa·t*, *ĕe jaa·kut*, etc., "Your hand, your hat, your jacket."

Mu, *dhu* (my, thy), are spoken in the Exmoor district and in North Devon, but they are not general in West Somerset.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

These are *ue* both nominative and objective, possessive *ùez*. *Weech*, *wau·t* (or *haut·*).

Ue dùed-ut ? "Who did it?" *Ue ded· ur gee· un tùe ?* "To whom did he give it?" *Ue·z ez· ut ?* "Whose is it?" *Aay doa·noa ùez taiz*, "I do not know whose it is." *Weech wai bee gwaa·yn ?* "Which way are you going?" *Wau·t b-ĕe baewt ?* "What are you about?" *Haut· b-ĕe aak·tĕen oa ?* "What are you doing?"

Weech is never used quite alone, as in "which was it?"

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[1] The inflexion of the present participle has generally been written *ĕen*, which represents the most usual sound; but in cases where it follows a very accented syllable, as in the above sentence, the final syllable is much shortened, and to express this it is written *in*.

but if no noun is expressed, as "which man," etc., it is always *weech oa-m?* "Which of them?" Sometimes, however, *weech·ĕe?* is heard, but this is not general except with certain individuals, and by them *weech·ĕe* is never made the nominative of a sentence, but is the simple interrogatory, corresponding to the ordinary English *which?*

The possessive *ùez* is also scarcely ever heard alone, or except before a noun, expressed or understood, as *Uez aewz ez dhaat?* (see p. 32, Demonstratives). *Uez duuks bee dhai?* "Whose ducks are those?"

Wau·t is used indefinitely, as *what?* *i.e.* "What do you say?" *Wau·t-l-ĕe gee?* "What will you give?"

In those cases where the interrogative is governed by a preposition, this latter is always placed last in the clause. *Ue wau·z-ut ĕe zaed ut tùe?* "Who was it you said it to?" *Ue wuz um tau·kĕen ubaewt?* "Who were they talking about?" *Ue ded ur git dhik dau·g vrau·m?* "Who did he (*or* she) get that dog from?" *Uez au·s ez ur gwaa·yn tu vach um wai?* "Whose horse is he going to fetch them with?" *Ue daed ĕe baay dhai tae·ŭdĕez oa?* "Whom did you buy those potatoes *of?*" *Uez kaa·rt daed um kau·m een?* "Whose cart did they come in?"

THE RELATIVE.

Our relatives are *dhut* and *waut* or *haut*; *which* and *whose* are never so used, and indeed, whenever we can, we get rid of relatives altogether, as *Dhurz dhai kn tuul ĕe. Aay noa·ŭs u mae·ŭn l-dùe vau·r ĕe,* "I know a man (who) will do for you." *Dhur wuz moo·ŭr-n fau·rtĕe kèod·n git een,* "There were more than forty (who) could not get in." *Aa·l shoa· ĕe dhu voa·ks l-man·ij ut,* "I will show you the people (who) will manage it (see p. 34, Indefinite Pronouns). With us *as* is never used as a relative. We could not say "the man as did it;" we should say, *dhu mae·ŭn waut dùed ut. Waut* is used rather for stress, and in all cases *dhut* might be substituted. *Dhu aewz ĕe kn-zee· dhu ai·nd oa,* "The house you can see the end of." In East Somerset *as* is used for the relative, thus, *Dhu maan uz aad ut,* "The man who had it;" but not in our district.

We have no short method of expressing the relative possessive. To convey the idea that "the man, whose house was burnt, lives here," we should say, *dhu mae·ŭn waut ud u-gau·ŭt ez aęwz u-buurnd du lee·v yuur. Dhu maa·yd dhut ad ur yuung mae·ŭn u-kee·ŭld,* "The girl whose lover was killed." *Dhu uum·un ĕe du noa dhu zún oā,* "The woman whose son you know." *Dhu dau·g haut ud u-gau·ŭt ez lag u-uurnd oa·vur,* "The dog whose leg was run over." *Dhu tree ĕe zoa·ŭld dhu aa·plz (*or *pai·chez) oa·f-oa,*[1] *z dai·d,* "The tree from off which you sold the apples, is dead." Observe that fruit is not a noun with us, and that its particular sort must be specified. To fruit is a verb neuter. *Dhik·ĕe tree du frùe·tĕe wuul.*

We should use *what* and *which* indefinitely, without their nouns, as *kaa·n zee waut ún·ĕebaud·ĕe-z ubaewt,* "One cannot see what one is doing." *Doa·noa weech tai·z,* "I do not know which it is." Notice the omission of the nominative pronoun (see p. 34).

Waut·sumdúv·ur is seldom used except as an intensitive, as: *Uur wúd-n gee· un nuuf·ĕen waut·sumdúv·ur,* "She would (not) give him nothing whatsoever."

COMPOUND PRONOUNS.

Compound Personal Pronouns are made by the addition of *zuul* or *zuulz* to the possessive pronouns, as

mizuul·	dhizuul·	ez- *or* urzuul·
muy·zuul (emp.)	dhuy·zul (emp.)	ee·z-*or* uur·zuul· (emp.)
urzuul·z	yurzuul·z	dhurzuul·z
aaw·ŭrzuul·z (emp.)	yoa·ŭrzuul·z (emp.)	dhae·ŭrzuul·z (emp.)

The use of either *zuul* or *zuulz* in the plural seems to be a matter of individual choice. *Aa·l dùe ut mizuul·,* "I will do it myself." *Shaa·n bau·dhur muy·zuul,* "I shall not bother myself." *Ee-d núv·ur uur·ĕe ez-zuul·,* "He would never hurry himself." *Dhai oa·n uurt dhae·ŭrzuul·z* or *-zuul,* "They will not hurt themselves." Any of these possessives can be still further strengthened by the insertion of *oan* (own), as *Aay dùed ut au·l mi-oa·n zuul·*, "I did it all my own self." *Dhai aa·n u-gau·ŭt noa·baudĕe uuls bud dhur oa·n zuulz*, "They have nobody else besides *their own selves.*" This is a common description of a married couple without incumbrance.

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[1] *Off* is spoken in two ways—where it would mean in received English *off from*, as in this example, it is always *oa·f.* So also *left off* is *laf oa·f*, but *off side* is *au·f zuyd.*

VERBS.

If we were to classify the verbs in the West Somerset Dialect according to their actual tense-inflexions, irrespective of historical considerations, they might be arranged in four divisions, viz.: 1. verbs which add *t, d,* or *ud,* for the past tense, to which *u-* is prefixed for the participle; 2. verbs which drop this *t* or *d* (except in special cases) in the past tense and participle, and then have the past the same as the present; 3. verbs which form the past tense and participle by vowel change (the participle still having the prefix *u-*); 4. verbs which at the same time change the vowel and add *-t* or *d.* Comparison with the older forms of the language shows that the first two divisions contain the originally *weak* verbs, those in division 2 having in this dialect dropped the *t* or *d* of the past; the two latter contain originally *strong* verbs, division 4 having the peculiarity that *the termination of the weak verbs has been added to the original strong past.*

This fondness for the weak inflexion is a remarkable characteristic of the dialect; it will be seen in the sequel that the number of strong verbs which it retains either in their original strong form, or with the addition of *-t, -d,* is very small; all the remainder, as far as they continue in the dialect, have become weak.

WEAK VERBS.

I. Verbs ending in a vowel or in *r* add *-d* for the past tense, as—

lai·, laa·y	lai·d, laa·yd	u-lai·d, u-laa·yd	*to lie* or *lay.*[1]
paa·y	paa·yd	u-paa·yd	,, *pay*

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[1] We make no difference between the intransitive *to lie down* and transitive *to lay down.* But *lie=mentiri,* is not used as a verb; a liar does not *lie,* but *tuulz luy·z.*

duy	duy·d	u-duy·d	*to die*
ae·ŭ	ae·ŭd	u-ae·ŭd	,, *have*
zee	zee·d	u-zee·d	,, *see*
groa, grao·ŭ	groa·d, grao·ŭd	u-groa·d, u-grao·ŭd	,, *grow*
kroa, krao·ŭ	kroa·d, krao·ŭd	u-kroa·d, u-krao·ŭd	,, *crow*
noa·, nao·ŭ	noa·d, nao·ŭd	u-noa·d, u-nao·ŭd	,, *know*
baur·ĕe	baur·ĕed	u-baur·ĕed	,, *borrow*
maar·ĕe	maar·ĕed	u-maar·ĕed	,, *marry*
yuur	yuurd	u-yuurd	,, *hear*
shee·ŭr	shee·ŭrd	u-shee·ŭrd	,, *shear*
zwae·ŭr	zwae·ŭrd	u-zwae·ŭrd	,, *swear*
wae·ŭr	wae·ŭrd	u-wae·ŭrd	,, *wear*

Rarely the vowel of the past tense is contracted or modified, as—

gee	gid	u-gid
zai·	zaed	u-zaed

II. In verbs ending in a consonant, the *-d* of the past tense and past participle (which after *k, sh, ch, s,*[1] *p, f,* becomes *-t*) falls away, except when followed by a vowel; in that case it is pronounced as the initial of the following word, as: *Uur kaech dhu bwuuyz,* "She caught the boys;" but *Uur kaech·t u bae·ŭd koa·l,* "She caught a bad cold." *Dhai wee·sh Mae·ŭrĕe-d u-kau·m,* "They wished Mary had come." *Dhai wee·sh-t uur ad-n,* "They wished she had not" (or "had *him*"). *Ee laa·rf boo·ŭdh zuydz uv ez maewdh,* "He laughed both sides of his mouth." *Ee laa·rf-t oa-ur,* "He laughed at her" (literally *of* her; we never laugh *at* a person or thing). *Aay wai·v tai·n yaa·rd u-voa·ŭr brak·sus,* "I wove ten yards before breakfast." *Uur wai·v-d au·l dhu pĕes,* "She wove all the piece." *Ee lee·v tu Taa·nŭn,* "He lived at Taunton." *Ee lee·v-d au·p t-ee·ŭl,* "He lived up at (the) hill."

After *t* or *d,* and sometimes after *n,* no inflexion is added, even before a vowel, as *ee wau·n t-ab·-m,*[2] "He wanted to have him *or* it." *Jan wau·nt au·l dhu laut,* "John wanted all the lot." *Dh-oa·l mae·ŭn wid dhu paa·z au·l oa·vur,* "The old man weeded the paths all over." *Ee·v u-wid· um klee·ŭn,* "He has weeded them clean." *Ee·v u-spai·n úv·urĕe vaa·rdn*

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[1] *th* would come here, but I do not know of any verb in the dialect in *-th.*

[2] Here the final *t* in *wau·nt* is dropped, in consequence of the next word beginning with *t,* as before shown, p. 27.

ee·v u-gaut·, "He has spent every farthing he has." In dissyllabic verbs, such as *vras·l* wrestle, *zad·l* saddle, *rak·n* or *vrak·n* (*vr*=Ags. *r*) reckon, *drat·n* threaten, *snaa·rdl* snarl, *baal·uns* balance, *vaa·rnĕesh* varnish, *bau·dum* bottom, the inflexional *-d* is not generally pronounced in rapid speech before a consonant, especially in familiar words, though at times it may be heard. But in all these consonantal verbs the *-ud* is sometimes pronounced as a distinct syllable, especially when the meaning is emphasized; as *bae·ŭk, bae·ŭk-ud,* baked. Indeed, in the hill district, this appears to be the usual form with verbs in *k, g, t, d, p, b, v.* Again, this full form has a kind of frequentative force, when the verb is used simply intransitively, or as a "verb of complete predication" without an object, as *Ee bae·ŭkud dree tuy·mz u Zún·di,* "He baked three times a (=on) Sunday." *Dhai au·sez pluw·ud zab·m aaw·ŭrz,* "Those horses ploughed, *i.e.* kept on ploughing, seven hours." *Aay groa·pud gin aay vaewn un,* "I continued groping against (=till) I found him." The past participle follows the same rule; thus, *Aay-v u-draash·ud au·l-z wik,* "I have been threshing all this week." *Uur-v u-wai·vud au·l ur luyv,* "She has woven, *i.e.* been a weaver, all her life."

The following verbs, of the strong conjugation or weak and irregular in Standard English, are weak in our dialect: bear, bite, blow, crow, grow, come, draw, drink, fall, fight, fly, fling, forsake, freeze, give, go, hang, hide, hold, know, lead, lie, read, ring, run, shake, shrink, shoot, see, sing, sink, sling, spin, spit, spring, stink, swear, swim, swing, throw, wear, weave, win, wring.

Do, as a technical verb (see p. 71), is thus conjugated: *dùe, dùe·d, u-dùe·d, u-duun·d,* in which the originally reduplicated past, *dede, dyde,* is treated as a regular weak past of *dùe.*

III. The modified weak verbs existing in the dialect are:

bring	braa·t	u-braa·t	to bring
buy	bau·t boa·ŭt	u-bau·t u-boa·ŭt	,, buy
dhingk	dhoa·ŭt dhau·t	u-dhoa·ŭt u-dhau·t	,, think
zúl, súl	zoa·ŭl(d)	u-zoa·ŭl(d)	,, sell

tuul	toa·ŭl(d)	u-toa·ŭl(d)	to tell
mae·ŭk	mae·ŭd	u-mae·ŭd	,, make

To these add the preteritive verbs:

kan	kèo·d	can
wúl	wid	will
shaa·l	shèo·d	shall
mid, múd	mid, múd	may

Wuurk has past *wuurk(t), -ud,* while *vroa·ŭt* is used only as an adjective in *vroa·ŭt uy·ur,* "wrought iron."

The following list contains the strong verbs and modified weak verbs of Standard English, which in the West Somerset dialect are treated as regular weak verbs:

	PRESENT.	PAST.	PAST PARTICIPLE.
bear	bae·ŭr	bae·ŭrd	u-bae·ŭrd
begin	bĕegee·n	bĕegee·n(d	u-bĕegee·n(d
beseech	bĕesai·ch	bĕesai·ch(t	u-bĕesai·ch(t
bleed	blid	blid	u-blid·
blow	bloa	bloa·(d, bloa·ŭ(d	u-bloa·(d
breed	bree·d	bree·d	u-bree·d
build	bee·ŭl	bee·ŭl(d	u-bee ŭl(d u-bee·ŭldud
catch	kaech	kaech(t	u-kaech·(t
cleave, *i.e.* adhere	klai·v	klai·vud	u-klai·vud
clothe	kloa·ŭdh	kloa·ŭdh	ù-kloa·ŭdh
		kloa·ŭdhud	u-kloa·ŭdhud
come	kau·m	kau·m(d	u-kau·m(d
	kúm	kúm(d	u-kúm(d
crow	kroa	kroad, kroa·ŭd	u-kroa·d, u-kroa·ŭd
deal	dae·ŭl	dae·ŭl(d, dae·ŭlud	u-dae·ŭl(d, u-dae·ŭlud
do	dùe	dùe·d, daed [1]	u-dùe·d, u-duun·d
draw	draa·	draa·d	u-draa·d
	drae	drae·ŭd	u-drae·ŭd
drink	dringk	dringk(t	u-dringk·(t
eat	ai·t	ai·t	u-ai·t
fall	vaa·l	vaa·l(d	u-vaa·l(d
fling	vling	vling(d	u-vling·(d
fly	vluy	vluy·d	u-vluy·d
forsake	vursae·ŭk	vursae·ŭk(t	u-vursae·ŭk(t

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[1] This form is used in negative or interrogative phrases, as *Aay daed-n zai zoa,* "I did not say so." *Daed yùe gee oa·ŭrt tùe ut?* "Did you give ought to it?" *i.e.* did you subscribe? It may be taken as the periphrastic form of the past tense; while if a definite action is implied in the verb *do*, the past tense is *dùe·d,* as: *Wuy daed-n ee dùe muy biz·gee ee·ns yùe prau·mees? Ee ul bee u-dùe·d um-buy,* "Why did you not do (*i.e.* repair) my mattock as you promised? *He* will be repaired by and bye." It will be found spelt both *ded* and *daed,* representing varieties of pronunciation, the latter being most common.

freeze	vree·z	vree·z(d	u-vree·z(d
grow	groa·	groa·d, groa·ud	u-groa·d, u-groa·ud
hang	ang	ang(d	u-ang·(d
hew	yao·	yao·d	u-yao·d
hit	aa·t	aa·t	u-aa·t
hold	oa·l(d	oa·l(d	u-oa·l(d, u-oa·ldud
keep	kĕep	kĕep(t	u-kĕep·(t
kneel	nee·ŭl	nee·ŭl(d	u-nee·ŭl(d
know	noa-ŭ, nao·	noa·ŭd, nao·d	u-noa·ŭd, u-nao·d
leave	laef·	laef·(t	u-laef·(t
lose[1]	lau·s	lau·s(t	u-lau·s(t
	lèo·z	lèo·z(d	u-lèo·z(d
may	mid	mid	
	múd	múd	
meet	mĕet	mĕet	u-mĕet·
ring	ring	ring(d	u-ring(d
run	uurn	uur·n(d	u-uur·n(d
see	zee·	zee·d	u-zee·d
shed = spill	shaud	shaud	u-shaud·
shoe	shùe	shùe·d	u-shùe-d[2]
shoot	shuut	shuut	u-shuut·
shrink	zhringk	zhringk(t	u-zhringh·(t
	zringk	zringk(t	u-zringk·(t
sing	zing	zing(d	u-zing·(d
sink	zingk	zingk(t	u-zingk·(t
slide	zluyd	zluy·d, zluy·dud	u-zluy·d, u-zluy·dud
sling	zling	zling(d	u-zling·(d
slink	zlingk	zlingk(t	u-zlingk·(t
sow	zoa·	zoa·d, zoa·ud	u-zoa·d, u-zoa·ud
sew			
spend	spai·n	spai·n(d	u-spai·n(d
spin	spee·n	spee·n(d	u-spee·n(d
spring	spring	spring(d	u-spring·(d
sting	sting	sting(d	u-sting·(d
stink	stingk	stingk(t	u-stingk·(t
strive	struy·v	struy·v(d	u-struy·v(d
sweep	zwĕep	zwĕep(t	u-zwĕep·(t
swim	zwúm	zwúm(d	u-zwúm·(d
swing	zwing	zwing(d	u-zwing·(d
teach	tai·ch	tai·ch(t	u-tai·ch(t
throw	droa·	droa·ŭd, droa·d	u-droa·ŭd, u-droa·d
weave	wai·v	wai·v, wai·vud	u-wai·v, u-wai·vud
win	wee·n	wee·n(d	u-ween·(d
wring	vring	vring(d	u-vring(d

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[1] *loose* is not used as a verb; *lùe·s* is a common adjective, and generally expresses diarrhœa, rarely the ordinary meaning.

[2] We use in addition the participial adjective *shaud* and *u-shaud·*, as *wat·shaud* wetshod, *druy·shaud* dryshod. *Ee wuz vur·ĕe wuul· u-shaud·*, "He was very well shod."

To drown is peculiar; it is conjugated thus, both forms being equally common:

draewn	draewn	u-draewn
draew·nd	draewndud	u-draewndud

STRONG VERBS.

I. The following are the only strong verbs retained in their simple form:

bee	wau·z, wuz	u-bún	to be
buyn	baewn(d	u-baewn(d	,, bind
gruyn	graewn(d	u-graewn(d, u-graewndud	,, grind
vuyn	vaewn(d	u-vaewn(d	,, find
vruyt	vroa·ŭt	u-vroa·ŭt	,, write
hruyd	hroa·ŭd, hraud·	u-roa·ŭd, u-raud·	,, ride
trai·d	troa·ŭd	u-troa·ŭd	,, tread
git	gau·t, goa·ŭt	u-gau·t, u-goa·ŭt	,, get
vurgit·	vurgau·t, -goa·ŭt	u-vurgau·t, -goa·ŭt	,, forget
zit	zau·t, zoa·ŭt	u-zau·t, u-zoa·ŭt	,, sit *or* set
stan	stèo·d	u-stèo·d	,, stand
goo	wai·nt	u-goo·, u-gau·n	,, go

U-gau·n is used adverbially for *ago*, sometimes for *gone*, i.e. *deceased; zoa dhu poo·ŭr oal dau·ktur-z u-gau·n* (dead).

II. The following verbs, originally strong, have the weak termination superadded in the past participle, and also in the past tense when a vowel follows, or when the verb ends in *r*:

brai·k	broa·k(t	u-broa·kt	to break
drai·v	droa·v(d	u-droa·vd	,, drive
spai·k	spoa·k(t	u-spoa·kt	,, speak
klai·v	kloa·v(d	u-kloa·vd[1]	,, cleave, *i.e.* to split
stae·ŭl	stoa·l(d	u-stoa·ld	,, steal
tae·ŭr	toa·ŭrd	u-toa·ŭrd	,, tear
tae·ŭk	tèok(t	u-tèokt	,, take
kree·p	kroa·p(t	u-kroa·pt	,, creep
klúm	kloa·m(d	u-kloa·md	,, climb
ruyz	roa·ŭz(d	u-roa·ŭzd	,, raise

To these may be added the past participles . . . . *u-bau·rnd*, born, from *bae·ŭr*, not used in this sense actively, and *u-duun·d*, another form of *u-dùe·d*, from *do*, see p. 71. *Ee wuz u-bau·rnd u-voa·ŭr uz tuym*, "He was born before his time." A labourer would say to his employer, *Haut mus ĕes goo baewd nuw·, plai·z?*

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[1] Also weak *claef, claef(t), u-klaef·tud.*

aay-v u-duun·d dhik·ĕe aj·, "What must I go about now, please? I have done (*i.e.* finished) that hedge."

The foregoing lists are believed to contain all, or nearly all, the verbs used in the dialect, which do not fall under the regular division of weak verbs.

The formation of the past participle by the prefix *u-* is common to all verbs alike.[1]

Formation of the Simple Tenses.

Transitive verbs have a distinct form to express the performance of the action, without an object, which may be called the intransitive form or form of complete predication; thus, transitive, *he digs the garden, he wrote a letter;* intransitive, *he digs for a livelihood, he wrote with vigour.*

The intransitive form adds the termination *-ee* (or *-i*) to the present infinitive[2] with all tenses in which it is used. In the dialect the use of the periphrastic form with *do*, and of the auxiliary verbs generally, is so much the rule that the infinitive of the principal verb is the part most used in ordinary sentences, while the tense, state, etc., are formed by the auxiliaries.

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[1] This *ŭ* (usually written *a-* in dialect works) is the Old English (and German) *ge-*, contracted soon after 1100 to *i-*, *y-*. It was lost from the Northern dialect very early; in the Midland it was disappearing in Chaucer's time, though he frequently uses it:

> Hath in the Ram his halfe cours *i-ronne*,

but

> At Alisaundre he was whan it was *wonne*.

With the widening into *ŭ-*, compare the occasional use of *a* for *i'* = *in* in Tudor English.—M.

[2] This *-ĕe* or *-i* (often written *-y* in Western dialect works) is understood to be the last vestige of the Anglo-saxon infinitive *-an*, *-ian*, retained in a special construction. This termination disappeared from the Northern dialect soonest, and was preserved in the Southern much longer even than in the Midland. In the North it had become *-a*, *-e*, before the tenth century, and was totally lost before 1250. But in the Southern dialect the *Ancren Riwle*, about 1200, has always the full form in *-en*. In the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 1340, this is mostly *ie*, *i*, *y*, or *e*, "his hous mid greate strengþe wolde *loky*." Data for connecting this with the "free infinitive" of the modern South-western dialects are not forthcoming; but the probable course was, that as the final vowel was already by Robert of Gloucester, 1298, elided before a word beginning with a vowel, it came at length to be dropped before any word, and retained only when the infinitive was not followed by an object. Its history would thus be analogous to that of *mine*, *my*: *min* was first used in all positions, then contracted to *mi* before a consonant, then finally before a vowel also, leaving *mine* as an absolute or independent form. In both cases a contraction, originally euphonic, has developed a syntactical distinction: *my* house, the house is *mine;* so *tŭ dig graewn*, *tu draa·shĕe un dig·ee*.—M.

VERB *DIG*.

Indicative.

	TRANSITIVE.	INTRANSITIVE.
Pres. Habitual	aay, ee, *etc.* dŭ dig	aay dŭ dig·ĕe
	aay, ee, *etc.* digz (dhu graewn)	aay dig·us
Pres. Actual	aay bĕe u-dig·ĕen	(*the same as the Transitive*).
Past General	aay, ee, *etc.* dig (dhu graewn)	aay dig·ud
	aay, ee, *etc.* dig·d (au·l dhu laut)	aay dúd dig·ĕe
,, *Emphatic*	aay daed· dig	aay daed· dig·ĕe
Imperfect	aay wuz u-dig·ĕen (dhu graewn)	(*same as the Transitive*).
Past Habitual	aay yùe·z tŭ dig (dhu graewn)	aay yùe·z tŭ dig·ĕe

Subjunctive.

Pres. Habitual	neef aay digz (dhu graewn)	neef aay dig·us
	neef aay dŭ dig	neef aay dŭ dig·ĕe
,, *Actual*	neef aay bee u-dig·ĕen	(*same as the Transitive*).
Past General	neef aay dig (dhu graewn)	neef aay dig·ud
	neef aay dúd[1] dig	neef aay dúd[1] dig·ĕe
Imperfect	neef aay wauz u-dig·een	(*same as the Transitive*).

Imperative.

Present	dig (dhu graewn)	dig·ĕe!

Infinitive.

Pres. Habitual	tŭ dig (dhu graewn)	tŭ dig·ĕe
,, *Actual*	tŭ bee u-dig·ĕen	(*same as the Transitive*).

Participle and Gerund.

Present	dig·ĕen, u-dig·ĕen, u-dig·ĕen oa.	
Past	tùe u-dig (dhu graewn)	u-dig·ud[2]
	tùe u-dig·d (ut)	
	tùe-v u-dig	tùe-v u-dig·ud

It will be seen from the above, and from the following examples, that we add the *ĕe·* termination to the imperative as well as the infinitive when used intransitively.

Examples. *Aay du wuur·k tŭ kaa·fmdurĕen*, "I work at carpentering." *Aay graewn dhu grĕes·*, "I ground the grist."

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[1] This is really equivalent to *if I should dig*, i.e. pure hypothesis.

[2] It should be noted here that the *u* is not the participial prefix, but is the contraction of *have*, i.e. *to have dug*. The prefix is here dropped for euphony.

Neef aay dŭ vach-n au·m, "If I fetch him (it) home." *Neef aay dúd draa·sh dhu wai·t,* "If I should thrash the wheat." *Aay dŭ wuur·kĕe tuur·ubl aa·rd,* "I work terribly hard." *Aew· dhu dringk dŭ wuur·kĕe!* "How the beer works (ferments)!" *Ee graew·nud au·l nai·t,* "He kept on grinding all night." *Neef uur dŭ múl·kĕe zèo·n unuuf·,* "If she milk soon enough." *Neef aay draa·shud vaa·stur-n dhai,* "If I thrashed faster than they." *Wee wuur·kus, muyn!* "We *work*, remember!" *Yùe daed-n gruyn un vút·ĕe,* "You did not grind it properly." *Neef aay vach·ez-n, aa·l ai·t-n,* "If I fetch it, I'll eat it." *Neef yùe wuz vur draa·shĕe lig ee·, yùe-d bĕe u mae·ŭn, shoa·ŭr ŭnuuf·!* "If you were to thrash like him, you would be a man, sure enough!" *Dhee zing dhik zau·ng! shuur?* "Sing thou that song! dost hear?" *Kau·m naew! zing·ĕe lig u mae·ŭn,* "Come now! sing like a man." *Lèok shaa·rp! dig·ĕe vur dhee luyv,* "Look sharp! dig for your life." *Ee aa·ks mĕe vu-ruyt u lădr· vau·r-n,* "He asked me to write a letter for him." *Aay waud-n ae-ŭbl tu vruyt mĕe-zuul·,* "I was not able to write myself." *Tŭ vruy·tĕe wuul·, muyn, -z maa·yn aa·rd,* "To write well, remember, is *main* hard." *Ee·z u kaa·pikul skau·lurd—muy bwuuy; ee-kn fig·urĕe lig u mae·ŭn,* "He's a capital scholar—my boy; he can cipher like a man." *Aay wuz jist u-weesh·ĕen vaur· ĕe, un dhae·ŭr yùe bee!* "I was just wishing for you, and there you are!" *Aa·v-ĕe braa·t dhu plaa·ns? aay zee·d ĕe dig·ĕen oa-m au·p,* "Have you brought the plants? I saw you digging (of) them up." *Wau·t dùe ur dùe·? Ee wai·vus. Doa·ŭn! dùe· ur? Ee dùe·; ee du wai·vĕe daewn taewn mee·ŭlz·,* "What does he do? he weaves. Doesn't! does he? He does; he weaves down (at the) town mills." *Uul·oa dhan, soa·ŭs! haut bĕe aa·ktĕen oa?* "Holloa then, my mates! what are you doing?" *Draa·shĕe uwai, mĕe bwuuy!* "Thrash away, my boy!"

The nominative pronoun is often omitted, as: *Dŭ zing·ĕe, doa·ŭn ur?* "(He) sings, does he not?" *Du kaech wauns, doa·n ur?* "(He) catches wants, does he not?" (*i.e.* he is a mole-catcher).

The inflexions given above, *digz, dig·us, dig(d̆, dig·ud,* are common to all persons, in both numbers. But instead of the form in *-s*, the old inflexion in *-th* is also found, not only in the 3rd person singular and plural, but even in the 1st, as: *ee wau·kth, dhai zaeth, dhai lee·vth, ee uurnth* (he runs), *dhai gruynth, ee uundurstan·th, dhai wuur·kth, aay lee·vth, aay zaeth·* (I says). This form is still common in our hill-country district, but throughout the great vale of West Somerset it is becoming rare, except with old people, so that the periphrastic (*I dŭ wau·kĕe,* etc.) is now the most usual form of expression for the unemphatic indicative and subjunctive moods. The form of the principal verb in *-th* is unemphatic; but the emphatic assertions *he has, he does,* which in the vale district are *ee aa·v, ee dùe·*, would be, in the hill district and throughout North Devon, *ee aa·th, ee dúth·*.

The inflexions of the auxiliaries for the various persons are given further on, and at the end of these will be found the full conjugation of the verb in all the moods and tenses, by the aid of auxiliaries.

The infinitive is used without any preposition after auxiliaries, etc., as in ordinary English: *Dhai wúd-n wai·vĕe noa moo·ŭr,* "They would not weave any longer." *Lat um zee,* "Let them see." *Aay yuur·d um zai·*, "I heard them say." Also with *to,* as: *Aay shúd luyk t-ab-m,* "I should like to have it (him)." The infinitive of purpose is expressed by *vur* (like French *pour*), as: *Ee daed-n goo· vur dùe ut,* "He did not intend to do it." *Dhai aa·n gau·t noa·ŭrt vur ai·t,* "They have not got anything to eat." Both infinitives are often expressed by *for to,* as: *Uur wau·ntud vur tu buyd au·m tŭ-maa·ru, an yùe plai·z,* "She (*i.e.* my wife) would wish to stay at home to-morrow, *an* you please." *Dhai aa·n u-gau·ŭt noa kloa·ŭz vur tŭ goo· wai,* "They have not got any clothes (for) to go with," *i.e.* to wear.

The gerund, or verbal noun, and participle, or verbal adjective, have the same form, as: *Ee-z u noa·ĕen fuul·ur, bud wau·t-s dhu gèo·d tùe un oa noa·ĕen?* "He is a *knowing* fellow, but what's the good to him of *knowing?*"

[The form used with the verb *to be* seems to be that of the verbal noun. *Aay bee u-zing·ĕen,* is really "I am *at* or *in* singing." *Ego sum in cantando,* not *ego sum cantans.* That the gerund is so derived in ordinary English is well known: "I found it *in ploughing* the field," being a late contraction of, "I found it *in ploughing of* the field," or more fully, "I found it *in the ploughing of* the field." Compare the Somerset *Aay zee·d-n u-pluw·ĕen oa dhu vee·ŭl.* In Scotch and some Northumbrian dialects, on the contrary, it is the true participle in *-and* which is used with the verb *to be*, "I am *singan(d)*, he was *plewan(d)* the field," quite distinct from "I found it in *pleuw-ĕen* the field." The English participle in *-ing* is a compromise between the two, for it has dropped the prefix of the Southern, and the distinctive termination of the Northern.—J. A. H. M.]

The prefix *u-* (*ŭ*) of the present and past participles is generally preserved, but frequently omitted for euphony's sake after a short vowel, and always when the participles are used adjectively; as: *Aay bĕe zing·ĕen*, but emphatically, *Aay bee· u-zing·ĕen*, "I am singing." *Ee·z u maa·rĕed mae·ŭn*, "He is a married man." In several verbs, in which the past participle has come to be regular and weak, there is still an adjective form like the original strong participle, as: *Dhu suy·dur-z àu·l u-dringk·t*, "The cider is all drunk." *Aaw·ur Uur·chut wuz druungk-s u fúd·lur, laa·s naï·t*, "Our Richard was (as) drunk as a fiddler, last night." *Dhik·ĕe jau·b-s u-dùe·d*, "That job is done," *i.e.* complete. *Twuz u duun· jau·b vau·r-n*, "It was a done job for him," *actum erat de eo.*

The use of the historic present is extremely common; in narrating events or conversations, such expressions as the following are constantly used, even when what is related happened long ago: *Zoa aay zaes· tùe un, s-aay*, "So I says to him, says I." *U zaeth·, ur zaeth·*, "He, she says." *Zoa s-aay*, "So says I." *Zoa s-ee·*, "So says he." *Zoa s-uur*, "So says she." *Ee·n ur goo·ŭs*, "In she goes." *Aay au·ps wŭ mĕe an·*, "I up with my hand." *Aay een·z wŭ mĕe vèo·t*, "I in with my foot." *Aay een· tŭ goo·*, or *Ee·n aay goo·ŭs*, "I went in." *Aewt ŭ kau·mth*, "Out he comes."

The verb *go* is peculiar. The present participle and gerund is *gwai·n*; the past participle is *u-goo·*, while the adverb "ago" is *u-gau·n*. Curious forms of the imperative *Een· tŭ goo·!* "Go in!" *Aewt tŭ goo!* "Go out!" are difficult to explain.

So *Au·p tŭ kau·m!* "Come up!" *Aewt tŭ kau·m!* "Come out!" *Baa·k tŭ kau·m!* "Come back!" These expressions are all emphatic, and would be used especially while assistance was being given—in lending a hand, for instance.

Verbs can be coined almost at will, and there is a strong tendency to convert nouns into verbs, even when a conventional verb already exists to express the action; such as to *bèoch·urĕe, faa·rmurĕe, kaa·fmdurĕe, taa·yŭldurĕe, blaa·ksmúthĕe, uy·glurĕe* (to carry on the trade of a poultry dealer or higgler), *dau·kturĕe, múl·urĕe, shèo·maek·urĕe*, etc. The practice of nearly all trades or professions is expressed by the noun denoting the practiser being converted into an *intransitive* and *frequentative* verb, as in the examples above, by the common inflexion of the infinitive being added. A man said to me not long since, *Aay shaa·n faa·rmurĕe vuur·ĕe muuch lau·ng-gur,* "I shall not farm (*i.e.* continue farming) very much longer." Since the above was written a man said to me, *Aay dùe·s u lee·dl tu bèoch·ĕen,* "I do a little at the trade of a butcher." This latter has come to be the common word for "the butchering line."

AUXILIARY VERBS.

As before stated, auxiliary verbs hold in this dialect a position much more important than in literary English; indeed very few of our sentences are without one. They are as follows: *bee* or *bŭ, ae·ŭ, aa·v* or *uv, dùe, wúl, shaa·l, múd* (may or might) and *kan;* and inasmuch as it is difficult to give any account of their various uses which shall be at all intelligible, I have thought it best, seeing how large a part they play in our speech, to collect a number of idiomatic sentences, such as are to be heard daily, in the order of the several conjugations, and so very fully to exemplify their use. I have in each case taken the simple affirmative, the simple negative, the interrogative, and the negative interrogative.

Although I may be open to the charge of having given undue space to these auxiliary verbs, yet their use is so important in the dialect that, independently of the general notion of construction to be gained by a study of these sentences, I have not felt justified in curtailing.

THE VERB *TO BE.*

Present Affirmative.

Aay bee u-fee·ŭrd oa ut,	I am afraid of it.
Dhee, aa·rt (*or* dhee-rt) u muump ai·d,	Thou art a mump-head (very common phrase).
Ai·z (*or* uur-z) u-foo·ŭs vur dùe ut, . . . u ai·z,	He (*or* she) is forced (obliged) to do it, . . . he is (see p. 33).
Wee bee (*or* wee-m) au·l oa us u-wau·ytĕen, wee bee·,	We are all of us waiting, we are.
Yùe bee (*or* yùe-m) vrau·ng duraak·tud, yùe bee,	You are wrong directed (*i.e.* misinformed), you are.
Dhai bee au·l u-broa·kt (usual form in speaking of *things*)	They are all broken.
Dhai-m au·l gwai·n au·m (usual form in speaking of *persons*)	They are all going home.

Present Negative.

Aay bae·ŭn saa·f oa ut,	I am not safe (*i.e.* sure) of it.
Dhee aa·rt-n kwau·rtur-v u fuul·ur	Thou art not the quarter of a fellow (*i.e.* of a man).
Ai (*or* uur) id-n (*or* aed-n) u bee·t luyk vur tùe, noa id-n,	He (*or* she) is not at all likely (for) to (do it), no, he is not.
Wee bae·ŭn jish vèo·lz,	We are not such fools.
Yùe bae·ŭn gwai·n vur ab-m vur noa jish muun·ĕe, yùe bae·ŭnt,	You are not going for to have it for any such a price, you are not.

(The most common mode of declining a bid.)

Dhai bae·ŭn bèo dree prae·ŭrts faa·t ee·t,	They are not above three quarters fatted yet.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Bee aay u luy·klĕe mae·ŭn vur dùe· ut?	Am I a likely man for (to) do it?
Urt dhee gwai·n tu wuur·k s-mau·rnĕen?	Art thou going to work this morning?
Ez ur fút? Ez uur? shoa·r!	Is he (*or* she *or* it) fit (suitable?) Is he (she *or* it)? sure!

(The latter is the usual expletive rejoinder to any kind of information as to *persons* or *things*—ez ut? shoa·r! as to facts.)

Bee wee ae·ŭbl vur kaa·r-n? z-t-av·ĕe, aed-n ur?	Are we able to carry it? it is too heavy, is it not?
Bee yùe kŭm aa·dr-n?	Are you come after (to fetch) it (or him)?
Bee dhai kaewz u-zoa·l? bee um dee·ŭr, bee um?	Are those cows sold? Are they dear, are they?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Bae·ŭn aay t-ab-m, dhun?	Am I not to have it (*or* him) then?
Bee kau·m tu lae·ŭt, bae·ŭn ees?	I am come too late, am I not?
Aar·t-n dhee gwai·n au·m tu dún·ur tuym?	Art thou not going home at dinner time?

Aed-n ur gwai·n t-ae·ŭ noa·ŭn?	Is he not going to have any?
Bae·ŭn wee· vur t-ae·ŭ sau·m oa ut, dhun?	Are *we* not (for) to have some of it, then?
Bae·ŭn uus gèo·d nuuf vur ee·?	Are not we good enough for *him?*
. . . . . vau·r ĕe?	. . . . for you?
Bae·ŭn yùe u lee·dl beet tùe· vaa·s, naew?	Are you not a little too fast (persuasive), now?
Bae·ŭn dhai· dhu sae·ŭm?	Are not they the same (things)?
Bae·ŭn dhai· dhu sae·ŭm voaks?	Are not they the same (persons)?
Bae·ŭn um maa·yn kùe·s?	Are they not very coarse?

Past Affirmative.

Aay wuz jis· pun gwai·n,	I was just on the point of going.
Dhee wúst u mau·rtl wuy·ŭl,	Thou wast a very long while.
Dhee wuuz· dhae·ŭr, aay zee·d dhee,	Thou *wast* there, I saw thee.
Ai (*or* ŭ) wuz (*or* uur wuz) u-tèok bae·ŭd, waud-n ur?	He (*or* she) was taken ill, was not he (she)?
Wee wuz au·l wat drùe,	We were all wet through.
Yùe wuz dhu wús·t oa-m au·l,	You were the worst of all.
Dhai wuz au·l u-kee·ŭld, ee·n tu vaaw·ur, dhai wau·z,	They were all killed, except four, they were.

Past Negative.

Aay waud-n unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs,	I was not near the place.
Dhee wús-n tau·ld unuuf,	Thou wast not tall enough.
Ee (ai, ŭ) *or* uur waud-n u beet dhu wús· vau·r ut, wauz ur?	He *or* she was not any the worse for it, was he (she)?
Wee waud-n dhae·ŭr zeo·nd unuuf·, wauz· us?	We were not there soon enough, were we?
Yùe (*or* ee) waud-n ee·n t-aewz, haun aay kau·m,	You were not in the house, when I came.
Dhai waud-n u-ḵaecht, noa·ŭn oa-m, dhai waud-n.	They were not caught, any of them, they were not.

Past Interrogative Simple.

Wuz aay gwai·n vur dùe· dhaat, s-dhink?	Was I going to do that, dost think?
Wùz dhee (*or* wuurt dhee) dhu maa·yd?	Wast thou the girl?
Wuz ee· (*or* uur) ee·n tŭ maa·rkut?	Was he (*or* she) at the market?
Wuz wee dhu mai·n yùe aa·ks vau·r	Were we the men you inquired for?
Wuz dhai bai·gz u-puut ŭwai·?	Were those sacks put away?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Wau·d-n aay vur tŭ vach-n?	Was I not (*i.e.* had I not) to fetch it (*or*) him?
Waus-n dhee lau·ng wai un?	Wast not thou along with him?
Wús-n dhee druungk laa·s nai·t?	Wast thou not drunk last night?
Wau·d-n ee u-lae·ŭsĕen oa un?	Was not he lacing (thrashing) him?

Wau·d-n uur· su bae·ŭd-z ee·, úv·urĕe beet-n krèom?	Was not *she* as bad as *he* every bit and crumb?
Wau·d-n wee· puur·tĕe wuul u-gyaa·lĕed?	Were *we* not very frightened?
Wau·d-n uus vur tŭ staa·p?	Were we not (*i.e.* had we not) to stop (remain)?
Wau·d-n yùe u-toa·ŭl vur tŭ git yuur zuulz een au·rdur?	Were you not told to get ready (*lit.* yourselves in order)?
Wau·d-n dhai dhae·ŭr yoa·ŭr shĕep?	Were not those your sheep?

Infinitive.[1]

Aay wau·rn un vur tŭ bĕe shoa·ŭr vur tŭ bĕe dhae·ŭr bĕe tuym.	I warned him to be sure to be there in time (betimes).
Dhai au·f tu bee u-shee·ŭmd oa ut,	They ought to be ashamed of it.

TO HAVE.

Present Affirmative.

Aay-v u-zoa·ld mĕe èo·l, aa·n ees?	I have sold my wool, have I not?
Dhee-s u-toa·ŭrd dhĕe púch·ur, as-n?	Thou hast torn (broken) thy pitcher, hast not?
Ee·dh (*or* ee·v) u-wuy·pd au·p dhu lún·ĕe, aa·nur?	He has *wiped* up the linhay, hast he not? (*i.e.* made sides to the shed, with long faggots of brushwood called *wipes*).
Uur·v (*or* uur·dh) u-saa·rd dhu dhingz,	She has served (fed) the things (live stock).
Wee·v u-shaud· au·l dhu múlk,	We have spilt all the milk.
Yùe-v u-gau·t u gèo·d plae·ŭs,	You have a good place.
Dhai·v u-fún·ĕesh dhur voa·r-nèo·nz, aa·n um?	They have finished their forenoons (lunch), have they not?

Present Negative.

Aay aa·n u-zee·d noa·ŭrt oa un,	I have not seen anything of him.
Dhee as-n u-bún urad·ĕe,—as·?	Thou hast not been already—hast?
Ee (*or* ai) aa·n (*or* aa·th-n) u-gau·t u bee·t,—aa·v ur?	He has not any—has he?
Wee aa·n u-tèo·kt ut, naut ee·t,	We have not taken (hired) it yet (*i.e.* land—of a house would be said *u-tèo·k-n*, taken *him*).
Yùe aa·n u-zoa·ŭd noa dhaach·ez eet,—aa·v ur?	You have not sown any vetches yet, have you?
Ee aa·n u-dùe·d ut, bee shoa·ŭr!	You have not done it—to be sure!
Dhai aa·n noa·ŭr-tu[2] dùe· wai ut,	They have nothing to do with it.

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[1] The infinitive of *to be* is often omitted after *will*, before an adjective or adverb—as *ee-l shoa·ŭr tu kau·m* (he will be sure to come). See other examples under *will*, *can*, etc. The infinitive is often omitted after *used to* as *ee aed-n aa·f su bae·ŭd-z ŭ yùe·z tùe* (he is not half as bad as he used to [be]).

[2] Here, again, two consonants coming together, one is dropped; uttered slowly this would be *noa·ŭrt tu dùe·*. So also p. 51, *vu-ruyt* for *vur ruyt*.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Uv aay zaed· oa·ŭrt?	Have I said anything?
Us dhee·[1] yuur·d oa ut?	Hast thou heard of it?
Uv uur u-zau·t dhu ai·n?	Has she set the hen (abrood).
Uv uus u-gau·t vur mak·[2] dhik aj·?	Have we to make that hedge?
Uv yùe (*or* v-ĕe) u-ae·ŭd yuur brak·sus?	Have you finished your breakfast?
Uv dhai (*or* uv um) u-kĕep· dhur chuurch rig·lur?	Have they attended church regularly? (compare *keeping chapels* at college).

Present Interrogative Negative.

Aa·n aay u-wuur·k aa·rd unuuf·, dhun?	Have not I worked hard enough, then?
As-n u-bún tu plaew·z-mau·rnĕen?	Hast (thou) not been ploughing this morning?
Aa·n ur u-drag· dhu vee·ŭl ee·t?	Has not he dragged (harrowed) the field yet?
Aa·n uur· u-skyaa·l dhu múlk?	Has not she scalded the milk? (technical,—milk is scalded to raise the cream).
Aa·n wee u-ae·ŭd au·l wuz u-kau·mĕen tùe-s?	Have we not had all (that) was coming (due) to us?
Aa·n uus noa·ŭrt moa·ŭr vur dùe?	Have not we any more to do?
Aa·n yùe· noa brai·d ĕen aewz?	Have not *you* any bread in (the) house?
Aa·n ĕe u-bún aa·dr-n?	Have not you been after him? (to fetch him).
Aa·n dhai (*or* aa·n um) u-laa·rn dhur bèok?	Have not they learnt their book?

Past Affirmative.

Aay-d u-zee·d-n dùe·ĕen oa ut,	I had seen him doing it.
Aay ad· u-gau·t wau·n, voa·r aay lau·s-n,	I *had* one, before I lost it.
Dhee-ds u-bún· dhur, au·l sae·ŭm tuym,	Thou hadst been there all the time (*i.e.* nevertheless).
Dhee ad·-s u-vaewn un, vur aay zeed dhee ab-m,[3]	Thou *hadst* found it, for I saw thee have it.

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[1] In this instance as in some few others, the participial prefix is dropped. This is merely euphonic in rapid speech; even in this combination, if deliberately uttered, it would be *Us dhee· u-yuur·d.*

[2] *Make* is quite technical and signifies to chop down all bushes and to clear the ditches, throwing the sods on the top of the bank, etc.

[3] The verb *to have* is generally auxiliary, and in the sense of *holding* or *possessing* is most commonly supplemented by *u-gau·t.* As in received English, it implies obligation; as *I had to run for my life,* though in this case we should say *Aay·d u-gau·t tu uur·n.*

Uur-d u-kaech·t aup dhu vuy·ŭr een rad·ĕenĕes,	She had lighted up the fire in readiness?
Wee-d u-toa·ld-n wee-d zèo·ndur buyd u-dhaewt·-n,	We had told him we had sooner stay without it.
Wee ad· u-gau·t u brae·ŭv suyt oa-m, shoa·ŭr nuuf·!	We *had* a brave sight of them, sure enough!
Yùe-d bad·r lat-n u-loa·ŭn, yùe ad· aay tuul· ĕe,	You had better leave him alone, you *had* I tell you.
Dhai-d u-lau·s au·l dhur tèolz,	They had lost all their tools.
Dhai ad· shoa·ŭr, u-spai·n mau·s bud úv·urĕe-dhing,	They *had* indeed, spent almost (but) everything.

Past Negative.

Aay ad-n u-dùe·d noa·ŭrt,	I had not done anything.
Dhee ad·s-n u-moa·ŭd-n au·l,	Thou hadst not mowed it all (*i.e.* field or lawn, not *grass*).
Uur ad-n u-wau·rshd aewt dhu skúl·ut,	She had not washed out the skillet (a peculiar brass saucepan on three legs).
Wee ad-n u-kee·ŭl dhu pai·g gin brak·sus tuym,	We had not killed the pig by breakfast time.
Yùe ad-n u-tich· oa-m, ad· ĕe?	You had not touched (of) them, had you?
Dhai ad-n u-mae·ŭd dhu stad·l bai·g unuuf·,	They had not made the staddle[1] big enough.

Past Interrogative Simple.

Ud aay u-bún wai um, moo·ŭr-n vai·v mún·ĕets?	Had I been with them more than five minutes?
Ud-s dhee u-dhau·t oa ut?	Hadst thou thought about it?
Ud ur tèok-n ee·n?	Had he taken him in? (i.e. *taken up from grass*—tech.).
Ud ee· u-pluum·p unuuf· wau·dr vau·r um?	Had *he* pumped water enough for them?
Ud uus u-ae·ŭd, naew, bèo u puynt u pĕes?	Had we had (drank), now, above a pint apiece?
Ud yùe u-aa·t-n aa·rd?	Had you hit him hard?
Ud dhai u-zing· un wuul?	Had they sung it (the song) well?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Ad-n aay u-paa·yd-n-z muun·ĕe naew?	Had I not paid him his money, now?
Ad-s-n dhee u-plaa·yd-n uvoa·ŭr?	Had you not played him before? (*i.e.* wrestled with him, or played a bout with him at cudgels or single-stick).
Ad-n ur bad·r dùe ut tu wau·ns?	Had he not better do it at once?
Ad-n ee· u-gau·t nuudh·ur wau·n?	Had *he* not got one at all?

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[1] The frame-work on which stacks of corn are piled up, also a bedding of faggots or branches upon which a stack of hay is made.

Ad-n uus au·vĕes u-wuur·k vau·r-n?	Had we not always worked for him?
Ad-n yue u-tuur·n dhu wau·dr ee·ns aay toa·ld ĕe?	Had you not turned the water, as I ordered you?
Ad-n dhai u-fún·ĕesh draa·shĕen?	Had they not finished thrashing?

Infinitive.

Aay shèo·d-n muuch luyk vur t-ae·ŭ vur t-ae·ŭ-r,	I should not much like to be obliged to have her (*lit.* for to have for to have her).
Aay wúd-n ae·ŭ-n een u gee·,	I would not have it (some article) in a gift.
Uur wŭol· ae·ŭ uur vling,	She will have (is determined to have) her fling.
Taez maa·yn bae·ŭd nĕet t-ae·ŭ noa·ŭrt vau·r-t,	It is very bad not to have anything for (doing) it.
Kèod-n ur ae·ŭ zau·m oa-m?	Could not one have some of them?
Wút dhee ae·ŭ-n vur zab·m shúl·ĕenz?	Wilt thou have it for seven shillings?

Imperative.

Dhee ae·ŭ dhu lau·t, kau·m naew!	Have the lot, come now! (persuasive).
Ae·ŭ sau·m aay tuul·ĕe,	Have some I tell you.
Lat-n ae·ŭ u lee·dl bee·t,	Let him have a little bit.
Lat·s ae·-ur nau·mĕet voa·r wee goa·ŭs,	Let us have our luncheon before we go.
Yùe· ae·ŭ pae·ŭrt oa ut, dùe· ĕe naew,	*You* have part of it, do now (persuasive).
Lat um ae·ŭ waut dhai wŭol·,	Let them have what (as much as) they will.
Dhai muus· ae·ŭ dhu bas·t oa ut,	They *must* have the best of it.

Verb *TO WILL.*

Present Affirmative.

Aa-l gee·ut tŭ dhee—shuur· mĕe?	I will give it thee—dost hear me? (a common threat of a thrashing).
Aay wŭol· ae·ŭ dhik·ĕe,	I *will* have that one (*emph.*).
Dhee wút (*or* dhee·ŭlt) saa·r nuuf tùe ut,	Thou wilt earn enough at it.
Ee-ul kwik-n baa·k ugee·ŭn,	He will (be) quick and (come) back again.
Uur wŭol· (*emph.*) chaa·turĕe,	She *will* chatter.
Wee-ul zeo·n dùe ut,	We will soon do it.
Wee wŭol· (*emph.*) ab-m,	We *will* have it, or him.
Yùe-ul (*emph.* yùe wŭol·) shoa·ŭr tu droa· un,	You will (be) sure to *throw* him (tech. in wrestling).
Dhai-ul (*emph.* dhai wŭol·) vaa·l daewn,	They will fall down.

Present Negative.

Aay oa-n núv·ur paa·y ut,	I will (not) never pay it.
Aay oa-n ab-m een noa· pruyz,	I won't have it at any price.
Dhee wút-n bee ae·ŭbl vur drai·v-m,	Thou wilt not be able to drive him.
Uur oa-n lai·d-n vút·ee, dhu bwuuy mus goo·,	She will not lead him properly, the boy must go,
Wee oa-n bee u-tèokt ee·n lig dhaat dhae·ŭr,	We won't be taken in like that.
Yùe oa-n git noa·ŭrt buy un,	You won't get nought by him.
Dhai oa-n klaef· dhik·ĕe mèot, udhaewt zum paew·dur,	They won't cleave (split) that moot (tree stump) without some gunpowder.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Wúl aay bee jish vèo·l z-dhink ?	Will I be such a fool, dost think ?
Wút dhee wuurk-n aewt ?	Wilt thou work it (the field) out ? (*i.e.* harrow and roll sufficiently until fit for the seed).
Ul ee· goo drùe· wai ut ?	Will he go through with it ?
Wŭol uus saa·f t-ae·ŭ dhu jau·b,	Will we (be) safe to have the job ?
Uul yùe (*emph.* wŭol· yùe) bee ae·ŭbl vur dŭe· ut,	Will you be able to do it ?
Uul dhai (*emph.* wŭol· dhai) lèok aa·dr dhu dhingz,	Will they look after the things ? (*i.e.* tend the live stock).

Present Interrogative Negative.

Oa-n aay ladh·ur-n, dhaa·t-s au·l?	Won't I leather (thrash) him, that's all ?
Wút-n dhee kaech ut, muyn ?	Wilt thou not catch it, mind ?
O-an ee· gee· un t-ĕe ?	Won't he give it to you ?
O-an uus zúl dhu yuung stau·k, d-ĕe aa·ks ?	Won't we sell the young stock (bullocks) do you ask ?
O-an ĕe (*emph.* oa-n yùe·) bee t-av·ĕe vau·r-n,	Won't you be too heavy for him ?
Oa-n dhai bee·ŭs au·lturĕe, doa·n ĕe dhingk ?	Won't those bullocks alter (improve) don't you think ?

Wúl·ur ? (will you) is a very common expletive after any request, and is almost equivalent to "If you please," as *Lai·n mee dhee nai·v, wúl·ur ?* "Lend me thy knife, will you ?" *Lat zee dhik, wúl·ur ?*[1] "Let me see (have) that, will you ?" The infinitive *be* is often dropped after *will*, as in the above examples, and in *Uul· yùe shoa·ŭr tu git-n rad·ĕe zeo·nd unuuf·* ? "Will you (be) sure to get him ready soon enough ?"

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[1] Spoken deliberately this would be *Lat-s zee*, see notes, pp. 27, 28.

Past Affirmative.

Aay-d gee· dhu wuur·dl tùe, ee·s dhaat aay wúd![1]	I would give the world to (do it), yes that I would!
Dhee-t (*or* dhee-ts) lau·s úv·urĕe vaar·dn oa ut, dhee wút,	Thou wouldst lose every farthing of it, thou wouldst.
Uur-d su zèo·n dùe· ut-s lèok, ee·s u wúd!	She would as soon do it as look, yes she would!
Wee-d mai·n un vau·r ĕe vur noa·ŭrt, wee wúd, shoa·ŭr!	We would mend it for you for nothing, we would, sure!
Yùe-d bee u-draew·ndud ee·n dhae·ŭr, yùe wúd saa·f unuuf·!	You would be drowned in there, you would, safe enough!
Dhai-d ai·t dhur ai·dz oa·f, een u kwik stik, dhai wúd,	They would eat their heads off in a quick stick (short time), they would.

Past Negative.

Aay wúd-n kraa·y, dhae·ŭr-z u lee·dl mae·ŭn, noa aay wúd-n,	I would not cry, there is a little man (persuasive), no I would not.
Dhee wút·s-n bik·ĕe daewn, wút·s?	Thou wouldst not keep your eyes shut, wouldst? (game of hide and seek).
Ee wúd-n dùe noa·ŭrt vau·r-n,	He would no nothing for him.
Wee wúd-n taek· ut,	We would not undertake it.
Yùe wúd-n laef-m wúd-ee?	You would not leave him, would you?
Dhai wúd-n núv·ur blae·ŭkĕe zoa, dhai wúd-n, neef sauf·ĕen waud-n dhu maad·r,	They would never bleat so, they would not, if something was not the matter (spoken of sheep).

Past Interrogative.

Wúd aay bee u-fee·ŭrd u ee·?—noa· aay vraek·n!	Would I be afraid of *him*?—no, I reckon!
Wúds dhee luyk ut dhee oa·n zuul, s-noa·?	Wouldst thou like it, thy own self, you know? (lit. dost know).
Wúd ee· maek uz zuul· jish gèok·èo-z dhaat·?	Would he make himself such a cuckoo as that?
Wúd uus úv·ur u-zee·d-n ugee·ŭn?	Would we ever have seen him again?
Wúd yùe· u-lat-n goo-f yùe wuz mee·, wúd ĕe naew?	Would you have let him go if you were I, would you now?
Wúd dhai laa·k vur staa·p voa·r dún·ur?	Would they want to stop before dinner?

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[1] The duplication of the verb, as in this and other examples, is so frequent that it may be called the rule; indeed, it might be applied to nearly every sentence under this verb.

Past Interrogative Negative.

Wúd-n aay maek-n paa·y vaur ut, neef aay wuz yùe?	Would not I make him pay for it, if I were you?
Wút·s-n dhee aa·t dhĕe ai·d?	Wouldst not thou hit thy head?
Wúd-n uur· maek u geo·d spuy pau·s?	Would not she make a good spy post (directing post)?
Wúd-n uus bee fuyn fuul·urz, t-aa·rkĕe tŭ ee·?	Would not we be fine fellows to listen to him? or this might mean *according to his account.*
Wúd-n yùe u-zaed· zoa, neef yùe wuz mee? wúd-n ĕe naew?	Would not you have said so if you were I, would you not now?
Wúd-n dhai u-bún jis bud wuul· u-saa·rd aewt?	Would not they have been rightly served out? (lit. just but well).

As a conditional, *daed*, or *daed-n*, is often used for *would* or *would not*, or rather *were to*. A man who was wanting a particular kind of seed said to me, *Aay daed-n kee·ŭr neef t-waud-n bèo kuup·l u bèo·shlz*, "I would not care if it was not above a couple of bushels." *Neef aay daed lat-n goo·, wúd ĕe bring un baa·k ugee·ŭn?* "If I were to let it go (lend it), would you bring it back again?" *Neef aay daed vurgee· ĕe dhee·ŭz wau·ns*, "If I were to forgive you this once." *Aay daed-n kee·ŭr* is the usual form of "I would not care."

THE VERB *CAN.*

This verb is not so commonly used as its equivalent *to be able*. *Aay bae·ŭn ae·ŭbl vur tu goo·* is more general than *Aay kaa·n goo·*, which latter is a little "fine talk," though perhaps more emphatic than the former phrase. So also *Aay kan· dùe ut* is more emphatic than *Aay bee ae·ŭbl tu dùe ut*, but some individuals would always use the latter form.

Present Affirmative.

Aay· kn rae·ŭl blee·v ut,	I can quite believe it.
Dhee· kns daa·p daewn, een vai·v mún·ĕets, un baa·k ugee·ŭn,	Thou canst dap (run) down in five minutes and (be) back again.
Ee· kn vaach-n au·m turaak·lĕe,	He can fetch him home directly.
Wee· kn yuur Lang·vuurd buulz, nuy·tuy·mz,[1]	We can hear Langford bells at night (lit. night-times).
Yùe· kn kwik-n kaech·n, kaa·n ĕe?	You can (be) quick and catch him (or *it*), can you not?
Dhai· kn ab-m vur aa·ksĕen, kaa·n um?	They can have it (some article) for the asking, can they not?

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[1] See note 1, p. 27, as to omission of the first of two similar consonants in rapid speech; deliberately this would be *nuy·t-tuy·mz*.

Present Negative.

Kaa·n kaa·r-n, kan ur? Aay kaa·n kaa·r-n, kan· ees?	(I) cannot carry it, can I?
Dhee kas-n muuv-m, kans?	Thou canst not move it (or *him*) canst?
Ee (ai) *or* uur kaa·n ai·t-n tu twuys, kan ur?	He (she) cannot eat it at twice (*i.e.* two meals), can he (or she)?
Wee kaa·n paa·y dhu rai·nt oa un.	We cannot pay the rent of it.
Yùe kaa·n núv·ur bee saa·f oa un, kan ur?	You can (not) never be sure of him, can you?
Dhai kaa·n zee· vur smĕech.	They cannot see for smoke (or dust).

Present Interrogative Simple.

Kun aay ae·ŭ yoa·ŭr lad·r, plai·z?	Can I have your ladder, please?
Kuns dhee maek shoa·ŭr oa ut?	Canst thou make sure (*i.e.* be certain) of it?
Kun ee· buyd gin maa·ru mau·rnĕen?	Can it remain till to-morrow morning?
Kun uus staa·p tu yoa·ŭr aewz umbuy· nai·t?	Can we stay at your house to-night (*lit.* by-and-bye (at) night).
Kun yùe dùe oa·ŭrt wai un?	Can you do with it? or can you do anything with him?
Kun dhai wai·vĕe vút·ĕe urad·ĕe?	Can they weave properly already?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Kaa·n ur g-een dhee·ŭz yuur wai·?	Cannot I (or *one*) go in this way?
Kas-n dhee dhaach-n, dhun?	Canst not thou thatch it (*i.e.* the rick) then?
Kaa·n ee· droa· aewt dhik·ĕe puyn?	Cannot he throw out (*i.e.* clean out the dung) that cow-pen?
Kaa·n uus[1] ab-m voa·r buy· nai·t?	Cannot we have it until to-night? (*lit.* before by-and-bye at night).
Kaa·n yùe goo vur tu zee baewd-n?	Cannot you go to see after him (*lit.* about him)?
Kaa·n um (*emph.* dhai) spuul dhur las·ĕen?	Cannot they spell their lesson?

Past Affirmative.

Aay kud (*emph.* kèo·d) aef-m ai·zĕe luyk, kèod-n ees?	I could heave it easily, could I not?
Dhee kuds (*emph.* kèo·ds) dùe ut neef wút, kèo·ds-n?	Thou couldst do it, if thou wilt, couldst not?

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[1] With the first person plural of verbs used interrogatively, *uus* is always the pronoun used; but in our district it is not heard in affirmative sentences, as it is in Devonshire.

Uur kud (*emph.* keo·d) zeo·n slaa·t-n oa·vur, kèod-n ur ?	She could soon slaat[1] it over (*i.e.* wash the room).
Wee kud lat ĕe ab-m u Dhuuz·dĕe,	We could let you have (*i.e.* lend) it on Thursday.
Ee kud bring un lau·ng wai· ĕe,	You could bring it (or *him*) along with you.
Dhai kud zèo·n saa·rch ut aewt, neef uun·ĕe dhai wuz u muyn tùe,	They could soon search it out, if only they had a mind to (lit. was minded to).

Past Negative.

Aay kèod-n uulp oa ut, kèod ees ?	I could not help it, could I ?
Dhee kèods-n ai·mp-m dhĕezuul·, kèods ?	Thou couldst not empty it (by) thyself, couldst ?
Ee (uur) kèod-n tuul um,	He (she) could not tell (*i.e.* count) them.
Wee kèod-n puut au·p wai ut noa lau·ng-gur,	We could not put up with it any longer.
Yùe kèod-n muyn zu lau·ng ugau·n, kèod· ĕe ?	You could not remember so long ago, could you ?
Dhai kèod-n núv·ur vuyn aewt dhu rai·ts oa ut,	They could not never find out the rights of it (*i.e.* the truth).

Past Interrogative Simple.

Kud aay (*or emph.* kèo·d aay) dĕepai·n pau·n un ?	Could I depend upon him ?
Kuds dhee dĕepai·n pun av·ĕen oa un ?	Couldst thou depend upon having it ?
Kèod ur maek shuuf-m[2] puut-n ee·n ?	Could he make a shift and put it in ? (*i.e.* plant the garden or sow the field).
Kèod uus kĕep-m vèol ?	Could we keep it full ?
Kud yùe lai·n faa·dhur u baa·tl-n wauj·ez ?	Could you lend father a beetle and wedges ?
Kèod dhai vuyn bad·r graewn vur tu tee·ŭlĕe ?	Could they find ground better (*i.e.* easier) to till ?

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[1] To *slaa·t* is almost the equivalent of "to do," but it rather implies a hurried doing. A farmer would say to a man, *Lèok shaa·rp-n slaa·t-n oa·vur*, as an order to be quick in ploughing a field. Again it means "to throw." *Ee slaa·t-n rai·t lau·ng drùe· un aewt dhu aewz*, "He flung it right the length of (lit. through and out) the house" (*i.e.* the living room). Also it means "to strike," *Ee slaa·t dhu ai·d oa un*, "He hit him on the head." To *slaa·t oa·vur* any piece of work is to do it rapidly, and frequently it is understood to imply haste at the expense of quality. It has various fine shades of meaning, which a native would readily understand from the tone of the speaker. See also specimen "Jack Stone."

[2] This form of *m* for *and* is very curious—following the rule of *n* changing into *m* after *p*, *b*, *f*, *v* (see p. 17, W. S. Dial.), owing to the *t* in *shift* being dropped. In the following sentence, for the same reason, the *m* stands for the pronoun *him* or *it* (*un*), contracted into *n*. This *m*-sound signifies *on* in our well-known adverb *taa·p-m taa·yŭl* = "up-side-down," lit. *top-on-tail.*

Past Interrogative Negative.

Kèod-n aay buyd au·m maa·ru mau·rnĕen?	Could not I stay at home tomorrow morning?
Kèods-n dhee wau·yt gin Vruy·dĕe t-aa·dr-nèo·n?	Couldst thou not wait until Friday afternoon?
Kèod-n ur kau·m tu wuurk uz mau·rnĕen?	Could he not come to work this morning?
Kèod-n uus au·rdur ee·ns [1] u múd wuur·kĕe luyk?	Could not we order (*i.e.* contrive) so that he (*i.e.* the machine) might work like?
Kèod-n yùe uulp steech·ĕe [2] u beet?	Could not you help a bit to stitch? (tech. see note).
Kèod-n dhai kĕep au·p aa·dr?	Could not they keep up after? (*i.e.* perform their work as quickly as their fellow workers).

THE VERB *SHALL.*

Present Affirmative.

Aa·y shl (*emph.* aay shaa·l) g-uup-m zee· un, shaa·n ees?	I shall go up and see him, shan't I?
Dhee shút (*or*) dhee shaet· maek-n ee·n tu èo·d,	Thou shalt make it (the tree top) into wood (*i.e.* chop up and tie into faggots).
Uur· shl (*or* shaa·l) shoa·ŭr tu bee dhae·ŭr tu mĕet ĕe	She shall (be) certain to be there to meet you.
Wee· shl (*or* shaa·l) lau·s muun·ĕe lig dhaa·t dhae·ŭr, shaa·n ur?	We shall lose money like that (*i.e.* by doing so), shan't we?
Yùe shl (*or* yùe. shaa·l) pik aewt weech ĕe wŭol·,	You shall pick out (*i.e.* choose) which you will.
Dhai shl (*or* shaa·l) kuut dhik·ĕe vee·ŭl naks.	They shall cut that field next.

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[1] *Ee·ns* is a word of frequent use and of wide meaning. Generally it implies, as above, *in such a manner that.* *Ee·ns múd zai*, one of the commonest expletives after any kind of sentence, merely means *as one might say.* Again, *Aa·l tuul·ĕe ee·ns tai·z*, might mean either *I'll tell you how 'tis*, or *even as it is*, or more rarely, *I'll tell you what 'tis.* This phrase is a very common expletive beginning to a statement, or explanation; while in the latter use it implies anger or threatening. *Ee·ns* means also *why* or *wherefore.* *Aa·l tuul·ĕe ee·ns aay dùe·d ut* means, according to intonation, *I'll tell you how I did it*, or *I'll tell you why I did it.* The word has various other fine shades of meaning, as *Yúe kaa·n zai ee·ns uur oa·n ab-m aa·dr au·l*, "You cannot say but that she will have him after all," or Cockney "*how as that* she won't," etc., or "You can't say *as* she won't have him." [It is evidently a contraction of *e'en as*, *even as*, the *even* giving emphasis, as in "even now"; and compare the German *ebenso.* The varieties of meaning here given belong not to the *even*, but to the *as*, which, as in other dialects, is used for *so*, *how*, *that*, etc. —M.]

[2] *Tu steech·ĕe* is to follow the "binders" in the harvest field, and to set up the sheaves of corn two and two on end, so that they may support each other; ten sheaves are always thus placed together in two rows, and the little group so formed is called a *steech.*

Present Negative.

Aay shaa·n saa·r mĕe wae·ŭjez, shaa·l ees?	I shall not serve (*i.e.* earn) my wages, shall I? (*i.e.* "if I undertake this at 'piece work,' I shall not earn my usual wages").
Dhee shaet-n aa·t dhu maa·yd,	Thou shalt not hit the girl.
Ee shaa·n uur·t ĕe, mĕe puur·-dĕe!	He shall not hurt you, my pretty (one)!
Wee shaa·n ae·ŭ noa·ŭn dĕe yuur,	We shall not have none this (lit. to) year (compare *to-day*).
Yùe shaa·n tich oa um,	You shall not touch (of) them.
Dhai shaa·n zai aew[1] aay stoa·ld mun	They shall not say (how) I stole them.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Shl-aay (*or* shaa·l aay) tuul ĕe au·l ubaew·d ut?	Shall I tell you all about it?
Shaet dhee goo tu maa·rkut ŭmbuy·?	Shalt thou go to market by-and-bye?
Shl-ee· (*or* shaa·l ur) km au·p-m zee· ĕe?	Shall he come up and see you?
Shl-uus· (*or* shaa·l us) zai·n daewn vau·r-n?	Shall we send down for him (or *it*)?
Shul yùe· (*or* shaa·l ĕe) bĕe au·m ŭmbuy· nai·t?	Shall you be at home to-night?
Shul dhai (*or* shaa·l um) wau·yt gin yùe du kau·m?	Shall they wait until you come?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Shaa·n aay (*or* shaa·n ĕes) zee· ĕe ugee·ŭn, voa·r ĕe du goo·	Shall I not see you again, before you go?
Shaet-n dhee bee u-foo·ŭs tu gee ee·n?	Shalt not thou be forced (*i.e.* obliged) to give in? (*i.e.* to yield).
Shaa·n ur vach· dhu poa·lĕes?	Shall he not fetch the police?
Shaa·n us mĕet-n u·Zŭn·dĕe?	Shall not we meet him on Sunday?
Shaa·n ĕe ae·ŭ nuuf· vur fŭn·-ĕesh aewt?	Shall you not have enough to finish out? (*i.e.* to complete).
Shaa·n yùe ae·ŭ tu gee aewt tùe ut?	Shall you not have (*i.e.* be obliged) to give out to it? (*i.e.* to leave it unfinished).
Shaa·n dhai staa·p dh-au·sez?	Shall not they stop the horses?

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[1] This use of *how* is very common. It does not refer at all to *manner*, but is the simple connective particle for 'that,' like the *as* or *as how* of other districts, "He says *as* he was there." Compare the French, *e.g.* "Ils disent *que* je les ai. *Que* vous êtes joli!" where *que* is both *how* and *that*.

To *staa·p* is both transitive and intransitive. In the latter sense it means *to dwell, to lodge, to wait, to remain,* but not to cease from any active operation, as *Ee·ẓ u-staa·pĕen tu Mús·uz Vuur·ĕekurz,* "He is lodging at Mrs. Fouracre's." If two men are working together, sawyers for instance, and one desires the other to cease working, he invariably says *oa·lt!* (halt!) So a row of mowers would never be told *to stop,* but *oa·lt soa·ŭs!* (halt mates!) The use of these words is very nicely defined in speaking to man and beast. To a man walking, *oa·lt!* To a horse, *wai·ĕe-ŭ!* To an ox or cow *woa·ŭ!* I heard a man say to another who was working with him, *Oa·lt! staa·p-m buyd stee·ŭl gin aay b-ee·n au·rdur,* "Halt! wait and keep still, until I am in order (*i.e.* ready)."

Past Affirmative.

Aay shúd (*or* aay shèo·d) luyk vur tu kaech-n,	I should like to catch him.
Dhee shúds muuv·ĕe lau·ng vaa·stur,	Thou shouldst move along faster.
Uur shúd (*or* uur shèo·d) buyd au·m un neet naa·yburĕe zoa,	She should stay at home and not neighbour so (*i.e.* go about gossiping with neighbours).
Wee shúd (*or* wee shèo·d) bee wús oa·f u maa·yn sai·t, aay kaewnt,	We should be a great deal worse off, I count (*i.e.* consider).
Yùe shúd zee vur tŭ truy vur tŭ vuyn un,	You should set to and try to find it (*lit.* see for to try).
Dhai shúd staa·p-m pee·s-nĕe, bĕe gèo·d rai·t,	They should remain, and mend up, by good right (*lit.* piecen).

Past Negative.

Aay shèod-n u-dhau·rt[1] u yuur ee·mpuruns,	I should not have thought of your impudence.
Dhee shèods-n u-droa·ŭd-n uwaa·y,	Thou shouldst not have thrown it away.
Uur shèod-n[2] u-spoa·kt gin ee aa·kst oa ur,	She should not have spoken until he asked her.
Wee shèod-n u-wai·nt neef dhai ad-n,	We should not have gone if they had not.
Yùe shèod-n aa·k[3] su fèol·ĕesh,	You should not be (*lit.* act) so foolish.
Dhai shèod-n[2] gee wai· tùe un,	They should not give way to him.

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[1] This is a very common expression among girls, when rudely chaffed by boys, and is equivalent to *I am ashamed at your impudence. Aay shèod-n u-dhau·rt* implies angry surprise.

[2] *Should* in this sense is less frequent than *ought,* as *Uur daed-n au·-tùe u-spoakt, Dhai daed-n au·-tu gee wai,* would be the more usual forms of these sentences.

[3] *Tu aa·k* simply means *to do,* and usually means no more. *Haut b-ee aa·ktĕen oa?* "What are you doing?" (*lit.* what be you acting of?) is the commonest of exclamations.

Past Interrogative Simple.

Shúd aay (*or* shèod aay) bee ae·ŭbl vur gèo· ?	Should I be able to go? (*i.e.* may I go?)
Shúds dhee noa· un ugee·ŭn ?	Shouldst thou know him again ?
Shèod ur spai·k tu mae·ŭstur baewd ut ?	Should he speak to master about it ?
Shúd· us lat ut au·l buyd ee·ns t-wŭol ?	Should we let it all remain as it will ?
Shúd yùe wee·sh vur tu git-n ?	Should you wish to get it ?
Shúd dhai bee u-gid wau·rnĕen tùe ?	Should warning be given to them ?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Shèod-n aay ae·ŭ maa·yn plaa·yg wai un ?	Should not I have a great plague with him ?
Shèods-n dhee bee u-saa·rd jis· bud rai·t, naew ?	Shouldst not thou be served just (but) right, now ?
Shèod-n uur u-múl·kud voa·r naew ?	Should she not have milked (the cows) before now ?
Shèod-n uus bee brae·ŭv-m aa·ktĕe vur tu git ut au·l u-dùe·d ?	Should we not be brave and (*i.e.* bravely) active to get it all done ?
Shèod-n yùe bee u-buuwd mau·s tùe·duub·l ?[1]	Should not you be bent almost double ?
Shèod-n dhai u-wai·nt deep·ur ?	Should not they have gone deeper ?

VERB *MAY, MIGHT.*

Present Affirmative.

Aay (*or* u) múd su wuul bee traa·nspoo·ŭrtúd, múd-n ees ?	I may as well be transported, may I not ?
Dhee múds ab-m eef[2] wút,	Thou mayst have it if thou wilt.
Ee (ai, u, uur) múd kau·m un u múd-n,	He, she, may come, and he, she, may not.
Wee múd bee u muyn tùe, praa·ps,	Perhaps we may be in the mind to (do it).
Yùe múd bee ae·ŭbl vur pèol-n aewt,	You may be able to pull it out.
Dhai múd tuurn aewt múd·lĕen luyk,	They may turn out middling.

[1] *Tùe·duub·l* is the usual form of expression for anything bent back upon itself, as a piece of iron bent so that the two ends are together. I have often heard, *Dhee-s u-buuwd mĕe zuyv puur·dĕe nee·ŭr tùe·duub·l*, "Thou hast bent my scythe pretty nearly two-double." An old man stooping very much is thus described: *Poo·ŭr oa·l fuul·ur, ee·z u-kau m vur tu gèo mau·s tùe·duub·l*, "Poor old fellow, he is come for to go almost two-double."

[2] This is another example of the dropping of one, when two similar consonants come together—there are three changes in *ab-m eef*. 1. *v* into *b*. 2. *n* into *m*, the alternative of *ab-m* being *ae·un*. 3. The dropping of *n* in *neef*.

Present Negative.

Aay (*or* u) múd-n zee· ĕe gin u Zún·dĕe tu chuurch,	I might not see you until Sunday at church.
Dhee múds-n ae·ŭ tuym vur tu wŭom·ĕe tùe·,	Thou mayst not have time to winnow too (*i.e.* as well as thrash).
Ee, u, uur múd-n lam· ĕe tùe aa·dr au·l, múd u?	He, she, may not let me (*i.e.* allow me) to (do it) after all, may he (or she)?
Wee múd-n brùe·ĕe uz vau·rt-nai·t	We may not brew for a fortnight (*lit.* this fortnight).
Yùe múd-n soa·ŭrt um aewt vút·ĕe,	You may not sort them out properly.
Dhai múd-n voo·ŭrj-n trùe,	They may not forge it true (*i.e.* straight or round).

Present Interrogative Simple.

Múd aay zaa·lt-n ee·n[1] vaur ĕe?	May I salt (*i.e.* cure) it for you?
Múds dhee gi mĕe lúb·urtĕe tùe?	Mayst thou give me leave to (do it)?
Múd uur· zoa un au·p vaur mĕe?	May she sew it up for me?
Múd ur klúm au·p aa·dr-n?	May he climb up after it (*i.e.* to get it)?
Múd uus plaa·y ee·n yoa·ŭr vee·ŭl oa graewn, plai·z?	May we play in your field, please?
Múd yùe slúp daewn umbuy·?	May you slip (come) down by-and-bye?
Múd dhai klúp dh-oa·l au·s?	May they clip the old horse?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Múd-n aay (ur, ees) goo lau·ng u dhai (*or* wai um)?	May not I go with them?
Múds-n dhee uulp kuut-n?	Mayst thou not help (to) cut it? (*i.e.* the field of grass).
Múd-n ee (uur) git dhu wŭop an· oa un?	May not he, she, get the whip-hand?
Múd-n uus au·n-dhau·[2] dhu pluump?	May not we thaw the pump?
Múd-n yùe mau·s su wuul buyd au·m?	May not you almost as well stay at home?
Múd-n um (dhai) vaa·l pun[3] ún·ĕebau·dĕe?	May not they attack one?

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[1] To *zaa·lt* and to *zaa·lt ee·n* are very different expressions; the former is simply to apply *salt*, the latter is to *cure*, as bacon or hams are cured.

[2] This is the transitive form, the intransitive is *dhau·ĕe*, as *Tl dhau·ĕe tu nai·t*, "It will thaw to-night."

[3] The expression *tu vaa·l paun* (to fall upon, *i.e.* to pitch into) is our commonest method of signifying *assault* and *battery*. *Ee vaa·l paun ur un saa·rd ur shee·ŭmfèol*, "He fell upon her and served her shamefully," is the too-common recital of the doings of a brutal husband upon his wife. Compare *passim*. 2 Samuel i. 15, "Go near, and *fall upon* him. And he smote him that he died."

The form *may* is not used; even in the sense of permission, it is expressed by *múd* (might), as in the foregoing examples.

THE VERB *DO.*

This verb is not often used except as an auxiliary, though there are some senses in which, being technical, it is always employed, as: *Tu dùe au·p u au·s,* "To do up a horse," means to give him his bed and make him up for the night. Also *tu dùe au·p* is used in the ordinary conventional sense of repairing, or making neat, as with a house, a garment, a carriage, a garden, etc. Again: *Naew aay bee u-dùe·d* is a common form of saying, "Now I am done for."

Such a phrase as "What are you doing?" is never heard, *Haut bee baewt?* "What are you about?" is the common equivalent. *Kan ur kau·m ut?* would be simply "Can he do it?" in the sense of being able to accomplish something rather indefinite. *Kan ur dùe ut?* would have rather a technical sense, and would be asked in reference to some definite work to be done, as the repair of a broken tool by a smith. Merely to express action, we seldom use the word *do*, but usually a more definite verb signifying the specific work or action going on.

Duun! is the general expression used, to accept a challenge, to clench a bargain or a bet. The past tense and past participle of *do*, when used in the limited and technical sense, are *dùed* and *u-dùed* or *u-duun·d* (see Conjugations, pp. 45 and 48).

Dùe·ĕe and *Dùe·ĕe naew* are very frequent persuasive expletives, or rather forms of emphasis to a previous petition, as *Truy wur ĕe kaa·n taek· u lee·dl bee·t, kau·m dùe·ĕe naew!* "Try whether you cannot take (*i.e.* eat) a little bit, come *do* now!" *Dùe·ĕe lèok shaa·rp-m laa·rn yur bèok, dhae·ŭr-z u gèo·d maa·yd!* "Do look sharp and learn your book, there is a good girl!"

Present Affirmative.

Aay dŭ aj·ĕe moo·ĕes tuymz,	I am generally a hedger (*lit.* I do hedge most times).
Dhee dús drai·vĕe shau·kĕen bae·ŭd,	Thou dost drive shockingly badly.

Uur dŭ kwĕel·ĕe tŭ baeg·,[1]	She quills too big
Wee dŭ au·vĕes drai·v wau·n uvoa·r tuudh·ur,	We always drive one before the other (*i.e.* tandem).
Yùe dŭ zúl trae·ŭkl, doa·ŭnee?	You sell treacle, don't you?
Dhai dŭ maek ún·ĕebau·dĕe paa·y tuur·ubl dee·ŭr,	They make one pay very dear.

Past Affirmative Negative.

Aay daed-n mai·n tùe, shoa·ŭr!	I did not intend it, indeed!
Aay daed-n zai zoa, daed ur (ees)?	I did not say so, did I?
Dhee daeds-n dùe ut u beet luyk oa·ŭrt, daeds naew?	Thou didst not do it at all well, didst now? (*lit.* a bit like ought).
Uur daed-n au·f[2] tùe u-wai·nt unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs,	(*lit.*) She did not ought to have went aneast the place.
Wee daed-n au·-tŭ gee· su muuch, daed uus naew?	We ought not to give so much, did (ought) we now?
Yùe daed-n muyn haut aay toa·ld ĕe, daed ĕe naew?	You did not remember what I told you, did you now?
Dhai daed-n laef noa·ŭrt yuur vur mee, daed um?	They did not leave anything here for me, did they?

Present Interrogative.

Du aay (*or* d-aay) úv·ur kĕep wuurk ubaewt?	Do I ever keep work about? (*i.e.* delay to finish it).
Dús dhee muyn aew lau·ng ugau·n taez?	Dost thou remember how long ago it is?
Dùe ee· (*or* dúth u) saa·r nuuf tu maa·yntaa·yn-z zuul?	Does he earn enough to maintain himself?
Du wee (*emph.* dùe· uus) wau·n-tu chai·t ĕe, d-ĕe dhingk?	Do we want to cheat you, do you think?
Du yùe (*or* dùe· ĕe) au·vĕes kuut yuur zee·ŭd tae·ŭdĕez?	Do you always cut your seed potatoes? (*i.e.* in planting).
Du dhai puut ut au·p vuur·ĕe aa·y?	Do they put it up (*i.e.* charge) very high?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Doa·n aay (*or* doa·n ees) rai·pĕe noa vaa·stur-n ee·?	Do not I reap (no) faster than he?
Dús-n dhee zúm· taez nae·ŭrshun au·t?	Dost thou not seem (*i.e.* think) it is 'nation hot?

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[1] To wind yarn by hand from a skein, or hank, on to a bobbin, or spool, for the shuttle in weaving, is called *tu kweel* or *kwee·ŭlĕen* (to quill or quilling). In the example above it means that she winds the spools too large, *i.e.* puts on too much yarn, to allow it to be placed in the shuttle. This operation is always necessary in the case of yarn that has been dyed; and, until recent times, was always performed by women or children, who were called *kwĕel·urz* (quillers).

[2] *Ought* is pronounced both *au·f* and *au·t*, most commonly *au·f*.

Doa·n ee (*or* dúth-n ee *or* ur) núv·ur tae·ŭk noa·ŭrt?	Does not he ever take anything? (*i.e.* to drink) (*lit.* never take nought).
Doa·n uus naut au· t-ae·ŭ haut-s kaum·ĕen tùe-s?	(*lit.*) Do not us not ought to have what is coming (*i.e.* due) to us?
Doa·n yùe núv·ur g-uup lau·ng wai um u Zún·deez?	(*lit.*) Do not you never go up along with them on Sundays?
Doa·n um (*or* doa·n dhai) au·vĕes puut dhu wau·rshĕen aewt?	Do not they always put the washing out?

Past Interrogative Simple.

Daed aay (*or* ees) lai·n dhee muy pik?	Did I lend thee my pick-axe?
Daeds dhee tuul dhu shĕep z-mau·rnĕen?	Didst thou tell (*i.e.* count) the sheep this morning?
Daed uur bĕespai·k dhu mau·ŭrt u bèoch·ur Truyp?	Did she bespeak the lard of butcher Tripe?
Daed uus au·-tu gee· un au·p?	(*lit.*) Did we ought to give it (or him) up?
Daed yùe paa·y au·l dhu shaup bee·ŭlz?	Did you pay all the shop bills?
Daed um (*or* dhai) mĕet wai puur·dĕe gèo·d luuk?	Did they meet with (*i.e.* had they) pretty good luck?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Daed-n aay (*or* ees) tuul ĕe aew t-wúd bee·, naew?	Did I not tell you how it would be, now?
Daeds-n dhee wau·n-tu fún·ĕesh voa·r naew?	Didst not thou want to have finished before this time?
Daed-n ee núv·ur mai·n vur kau·m noa moo·ŭr?	Did he not ever mean to come again?
Daed-n uus (*or* wee) yùe·z tu gèo· dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr wai?	Did not we use to go that way?
Daed-n yùe zai yùe zee·d-n yuur oa·n zuul?	Did not you say you saw him your own self?
Daed-n dhai zúm dhai ad-n u-gau·t fae·ŭr plaa·y?	Did not they seem (*i.e.* believe) they had not got fair play?

Imperative.

Dŭ dhee· zee· aut ĕe kn dùe vau·r-n,	Do thou see what you can do for him.
Doa·n dhee núv·ur lat mee yuur dhaat dhae·ŭr noa moo·ŭr, sh-uur!	Do not thou ever let me hear that again, dost hear!
Dhee dùe dhee bas·, un-eet lèok aa·dr haut vŏaks du zai,	Thou do thy best, and not look after (*i.e.* never mind) what folks say.
Doa·n yùe puut yur zuul· aewt dhu wai,	Do not put yourself out (of) the way (*i.e.* do not inconvenience yourself).

VERB *TO KNOW.*

Present Affirmative.

Aay du noa· au·l baewd ut,	I know all about it.
(*Emph.*) Aay noa·us ùe· uur zaed ut tùe,	I know to whom she said it.
Dhee-s noa· wae·ŭr taez rai·t ur noa,	Thou knowest whether it is right or not.
Ee du noa· (*emph.* ee noa·us, *or* ee nau·th) dhu rai·ts oa ut, ee·ns múd zai,	He knows the rights of it, as one may say.
Wee du noa· (*emph.* wee noa·us) wuur dhai kau·m vraum,	We know where they came from.
Yùe du noa· (*or* yùe noa·us) aew aay zaed ee·ns aay wúd-n ae·ŭ noa angks wai un,	You know how I said (how) I would have nothing to do with him (*lit.* no hanks with).
Dhai du noa· (*or* dhai noa·us) t-waud-m mee dùe·d ut,[1]	They know it was not I (who) did it.

Present Negative.

[2]Aay doa-noa· noa moa·ŭr-n dhu dai·d, ĕentuy·,[3]	I do not know any more than the dead, not I.
Dhees-n (*or*) dhee dús-n noa noa·ŭrt, zuy·noa! (*or*) tuy·noa!	Thou dost not know aught, as I know! (or) that I know, (expletive).
Uur doanoa· guurt Bee· vrum u bèolz veo·t,[4]	She does not know great B from bull's foot.
Wee doa-noa aut uur-dh u-dùe·d wai un,	We do not know what she has done with it.
Yùe doa-noa een·s dhai mud·n kau·m ugee·ŭn,	You do not know but that they may come again.
Dhai doa-noa wau·n mau·sl beet[5] aew dhai bee gwaa·yn tu lee·v,	They do not know at all (*lit.* one morsel bit) how they are going to live.

Past Affirmative.

Aay noa·ŭd wuur u wauz tùe, au·l sae·ŭm tuym,	I knew where he was all the time.
Dhee-s noa· bud dhee wúts-n tuul ún·ĕebau·dĕe,	Thou knewest but thou wouldst not tell one.
Uur noa·ŭd aew mún·ĕe bee·ŭnz maek vai·v,[6]	She knew how many beans make five.

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[1] Relative very frequently omitted. See p. 41.

[2] This and the preceding sentence are the commonest disclaimers in the dialect.

[3] This is a very frequent expletive after a negative affirmation—see Fielding's Tom Jones, book iv. chap. viii., "I don't know measter, un·t I."

[4] The regular stock phrase to express ignorance or stupidity.

[5] Very common phrase.

[6] The stock phrase to express sharpness or cleverness. Compare *Ee·z noa fèol, ee aed·n*, "He is no fool, he is not!"

Wee noa·ŭd vuur·ĕe wuul u kèod-n kau·m ut,	We knew very well he could not come it (*i.e.* accomplish).
Yùe noa·ŭd zu wuul-z mee dhai waud-n fút,	You knew as well as I (did that) they were not fit (*i.e.* not properly fatted).
Dhai noa·d ee·ns dhur wuz súv·ur oa-m dhae·ŭr buy·,	They knew that there were several of them there close at hand.

Perfect Affirmative.

Aay-v u-noa·d (*or* u-nau·d) u dhing· ur tùe bee muy tuym,	I have known a thing or two by (*i.e.* in) my time.
Dhee-s u-noa·ud (*or* u-nau·d) u suyt moo·ŭr-n dhee-s u-toa·ld oa,	Thou hast known a sight more than thou hast told.
Ee-v (*or* ee·dh, uur·dh) u-noa·d ut au·l drùe un aewt,	He, she, has known it all throughout.
Wee-v u-noa·d-n kuus·ĕe puur·dĕe wuul, uvoa·r naew,	We have have known him curse pretty well, before now.
Yùe-v u-noa·d wai·t au·l su[1] dee·ŭr, aa·n ee?	You have known wheat quite as dear, have you not?
Dhai-v u-noa·ud wuul nuuf wau·t dhai wuz au·p tùe,	They have known well enough what they were up to (*i.e.* intending to do).

FULL CONJUGATION OF THE VERB

TO SING.

Indicative Mood.

Present Habitual.

	Trans.	Intrans.
Affirm.	Aay dŭ zing, aay zingz,	Aay du zing·ĕe *or* aay zing·us.
Emphatic.	,, dùe· zing,	,, dùe· zing·ĕe.
Negative.	,, doa·ŭn zing,	,, doa·ŭn zing·ĕe.
Neg. Emp.	,, dùe nau·t zing,	,, dùe nau·t zing·ĕe.
Interrog.	Dŭ aay zing,	Dŭ aay zing·ĕe.
Neg. Int.	Doa·n ĕes zing,	Doa·n ees zing·ĕe.
Suasive.	Dùe aay nau·t zing,	Dùe aay nau·t zing·ĕe.
Dissuasive.	Doa·n aay nau·t zing	Doa·n aay nau·t zing·ĕe.

	Present Actual.	*Imperfect.*
	Trans. and Intrans.	Trans. and Intrans.
Affir.	Aay bĕe zing·ĕen,	Aay wuz u-zing·ĕen.
Emph.	,, bee· u-zing·ĕen,	,, wau·z u-zing·ĕen.
Neg.	,, bae·ŭn zing·ĕen,	,, waud·n u-zing·ĕen.
N. Em.	,, bae·ŭnt u-zing·ĕen,	,, wuz nau·t u-zing·ĕen.

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[1] Compare Ags. *eal swd,* whence our *alse, als, as;* and German *all so: Es ist allso theueur.*—M.

Inter.	Bee aay zing·ĕen,	Wuz aay zing·ĕen.
N. Int.	Bae·ŭn aay zing·ĕen.	Waud-n-ĕes zing·ĕen.
Suasive.	Bee aay nau·t u-zing·ĕen,	Wuz aay nau·t u-zing·ĕen.
Dissua.	Bae·ŭn-ĕes nau·t u-zing·ĕen	Waud-n aay nau·t u-zing·ĕen.

Past General.

	TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay zing(d,[1]	Aay zing·ud, dúd zing·ĕe.
Emph.	„ daed· zing,	„ daed· zing·ĕe.
Neg.	„ daed-n zing,	„ daed-n zing·ĕe.
N. Em.	„ daed nau·t zing,	„ daed nau·t zing·ĕe.
Inter.	Daed aay zing,	Daed aay zing·ĕe.
N. Int.	Daed-n ĕes zing,	Daed-n-ĕes zing·ĕe.
Suasive.	Daed aay nau·t zing,	Daed aay nau·t zing·ĕe.
Dissua.	Daed-n aay nau·t zing,	Daed-n aay nau·t zing·ĕe.

Past Habitual.

		TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay yùe·z	tŭ zing.	tŭ zing·ĕe.
Emph.	„ daed yùe·z		
Neg.	„ yùez nau·t „ daed-n yùe·z		
N. Em.	„ núv·ur daed-n yùe·z		
Inter.	Daed aay (*or* ĕes) yùe·z		
N. Int.	Daed-n aay (*or* ĕes) yùe·z		
Suasive.	Daed aay yùe·z nau·t		
Dissua.	Daed-n aay (ĕes) yùe·z nau·t		

Perfect Indefinite.

		TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay-v	u-zing(d.[1]	u-zing·ud.
Emph.	Aay ae·ŭ Aay yaa·v		
Neg.	Aay aa·nt		
N. Em.	Aay aa·n nau·t		
Inter.	Uv aay		
N. Int.	Aa·n aay (*or* aa·n ĕes)		
Suasive.	Uv aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Aa·n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t		

Perfect Definite.

		TRANS. AND INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay bún	zing·ĕen *or* u-zing·ĕen.
Emph.	Aay yaa·v u-bún	
Neg.	Aay aa·n u-bún	
N. Em.	Aay aa·n nau·t u-bún	
Inter.	Uv aay bún Aa·v-ĕes bún	
N. Int.	Aa·n aay (*or* aa·n ĕes) bún	
Suasive.	Uv aay nau·t bún	
Dissua.	Aa·n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t bún	

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[1] The (d pronounced before a vowel; see antè, p. 19.

Pluperfect Indefinite.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aay-d	u-zing(d.	u-zing·ud.
Emph.	Aay ad·		
Neg.	Aay ad-n		
N. Em.	Aay ad-n nau·t		
Inter.	Ud aay		
N. Int.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes)		
Suasive.	Ud aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t		

Pluperfect Definite.

		Trans. and intrans.
Affir.	Aay-d u-bún	zing·ĕen.
Emph.	Aay ad· u-bún	
Neg.	Aay ad-n u-bún	
N. Em.	Aay nŭv·ur ad-n u-bún	
Inter.	Ud aay bún	
N. Int.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes) bún	
Suasive.	Ud aay nau·t bún	
Dissua.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t bún	

Simple Future.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aa·l	zing.	zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay wúl·		
Neg.	Aay oa·n		
N. Em.	Aay oa·nt nau·t		
Inter.	Wúl-ur[1]		
N. Int.	Oa·n-ur		
Suasive.	Wúl ur nĕet		
Dissua.	Oa·n ur nau·t		

Future of Design.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aay-v u-gaut	vur tŭ zing.	vur tŭ zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay aa·v u-gaut		
Neg.	Aay aa·n u-gaut		
N. Em.	Aay aa·n nau·t u-gaut		
Inter.	Uv ĕes u-gaut Bee aay		
N. Int.	Aa·n aay u-gaut Bae·ŭn aay (ĕes)		
Suasiv.	Uv aay nau·t u-gaut Bee aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Aa·n aay (ĕes) nau·t u-gaut Bae·ŭn ĕes nau·t		

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[1] First person not used with *will* interrogatively.

Future Proximate.

		TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay bee	gwai·n vur tŭ zing.	gwai·n vur tŭ zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay bee·		
Neg.	Aay bae·ŭn		
N. Em.	Aay bae·ŭn nau·t		
Inter.	Bee aay		
N. Int.	Bae·ŭn ĕes		
Suasive.	Bee aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Bae·ŭn ĕes nau·t		

Future of Obligation.

		TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay· shl	zing.	zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay shaa·l		
Neg.	Aay shaa·n		
N. Em.	Aay shaa·n nau·t		
Inter.	Shl-ur, shl-aay Shaa·l aay, shaa·l ĕes[1]		
N. Int.	Shaa·n-ur, shaa·n aay		
Suasive.	Shl-ur nau·t Shl-aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Shaa·n-ur nau·t Shaa·n aay nau·t		

Future Perfects (*see Conjugation of* SHALL).

Aa·y shl u zing(d, Aay shl u bún[2] zing·ĕen, etc., etc.
Aa·y shl-v u-zing·d, Aay shl-v u-bún zing·ĕen *or* u-zing-ĕen.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD OF PURPOSE.

	Present and Past.	*Perfect and Pluperfect.*
Affir.	(Dhut) u múd zing, -zing·ĕe.	(Dhut) aay múd u-zing(d, -ud.
Neg.	(Dhut) u múd-n zing, -zing·ĕe.	(Dhut) u múd-n u-zing(d, -ud.

(*See Conjugation of* MAY, p. 69).

SUBJUNCTIVE OF SUPPOSITION.

Present.

	TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	(Neef) aay dŭ zing.	-zing·ĕe.
	,, zingz.	zing·us.
Emph.	,, dùe· zing.	-zing·ĕe.
Neg.	,, doa·ŭn zing.	-zing·ĕe.
N. Em.	,, doa·ŭn nau·t zing.	-zing·ĕe.

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[1] *Shaa·l ĕes?* rather implies asking permission or advice. *Shaa·l aay?* asks both as to whether it is certain that "I shall," and also "Do you wish or advise me?"

[2] The *u* here, as remarked previously (see note, p. 50), is not the participial prefix, but *have*. When the *v* in *have* is sounded, the prefix is never dropped.

Past.

Affir.	Neef aay zing(d.[1]	-zing·ud.
	,, dúd zing.	-zing·ĕe.
Emph.	,, daed· zing.	,,
Neg.	,, daed-n zing.	,,
N. Em.	,, daed-n nau·t zing.	,,

Subjunctive Conditional.

Past.

	Trans.		Intrans.
Affir.	Aay· shd,[2] ee wúd (*or* ee-d)	zing	zing·ee.
Emph.	Aay shèo·d, ee wúd·,	,,	,,
Neg.	Aay shèod-n, ee wèod-n (*or* èod-n),	,,	,,
N. Em.	Aay shèod-n nau·t, ee wèod-n nau·t,	,,	,,

Perfect.

Affir.	Aay·-shd, ee wúd (*or* ee-d),	u zing(d	u zing·ud.
Emph.	Aay shèo·d, ee wúd·,	,,	,,
Neg.	Aay shèod-n, ee wèod-n (*or* èod-n),	,,	,,
N. Em.	Aay shèod-n nau·t, ee wúd-n nau·t	,,	,,

Imperative.

	Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Zing!	Zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Dhee muus· zing,	Dhee muus· zing·ĕe.
Neg.	Doa·ŭn zing,	Doa·un zing·ĕe.
N. Em.	Doa·ŭn (*or*) dùe· naut zing, Dhee muus-n zing,	Doa·ŭn (*or*) dùe· naut zing·ĕe. Dhee muus-n zing·ĕe.
Suasive.	Dùe· ĕe zing,	Dùe· ĕe zing·ĕe.
Dissua.	Doa·n ĕe zing,	Doa·n ĕe zing·ĕe.

Infinitive.

Pres. Act.	Tu zing,	Tu zing·ĕe.
Pres. Hab.	Tu bee zing·ĕen,	Tu bee zing·ĕen (*or*) u-zing·ĕen.
Pf. Indef.	Tùe u-zing·(d, Tùe-v u-zing·(d,	Tùe u zing·ud. Tùe-v u-zing·ud.
Pf. Def.	Tùe u bún zing·ĕen, T-u bún zing·ĕen, Tùĕ-v u-bún zing·ĕen.	*or* u-zing·ĕen. (Same as Trans.)
Fut. Act.	Tu bee gwai·n vur zing,	Tu bee u-gwaa·yn vur zing·ĕe.
Fut. Prox.	Tu be u-gwai·n vur tu bee u-zing·ĕen,	(Same as Trans.)

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[1] *Neef aay zing dhu zau·ng* questions the statement that *I sang the song; neef aay daed zing* puts the hypothesis *If I should sing, If I were to sing*, which is also expressed *Neef aay wuz vur tŭ zing*.

[2] *Should* with 1st, *would* with 2nd and 3rd persons.

PARTICIPLES.

Present.	Zing·ĕen (*or*) u-zing·ĕen,	(Same as Trans.)
Past.	U-zing·(d,	U-zing·ud.
Future.	Gwai·n (*or*) gwaa·yn vur zing,	Gwai·n (*or*) gwaa·yn vur zing·ĕe.

GERUND.

Zing·ĕen,	(Same as Trans.)

As has been already mentioned (see p. 52) *for* occurs both in conjunction with *to* and alone, when governing the infinitive; on the whole, I should say that in the hill country, towards Exmoor, *for* is oftener used without the usual governing preposition than with it, while in the vale district it is just the opposite. *Uur waud-n ae·ŭbl vur dùe·-t,* "She was not able (for) to do it" (Hill). A father said in my hearing to a lazy son, *Wuy·s-n goo· vur tu zee· vur tu truy· vur tu saa·r sau·mfĕen?* "Why dost not go (for) to see (for) to try (for) to earn something?" (Vale). Again, the simple present infinitive is constantly used for the gerund, as: *Dhai bee goo tu pluw,* "They are gone *to* plough," i.e. *ploughing,* not *to plough* the ground. *Ee wuz tu wuurk haun aay kau·m,* "He was to work (i.e. *working*) when I came."

The gerund in *to* is constantly used to express the act of *undertaking* the work or action signified by the verb, as: *Mae·ŭsn Uur·chuts-v u-teokt dhu aewz tu bee·ŭldĕen,* "Mason Richards has taken the house *to building,*" i.e. the contract to build. *Jan Uurd tèok muy graa·s tu kuut·ĕen,* "John Red (very common name) took my grass *to* cutting." *Ee tèok ut tu dùe·ĕen,* "He undertook it." *To take to doing* has also the particular meaning (implied by context or intonation) of *scolding.* See specimen "Lord Popham."

The perfect participle is sometimes substituted for the present, as *Ee wuz u kaa·pĕekul lai·p au·s,* "He was a capital *leapt* horse," *i.e.* leaping horse. The phrase *good leapt horse* is the regular description of a hunter; I have frequently seen it in local advertisements of horses for sale. Also a "good goer" is *U geo·d staa·pt au·s,* "A good stept horse," *i.e.* stepping. Compare "A plain *spoken* man," "A well *read* man," etc.

To a stranger much confusion would seem to exist as to ownership, in the use of the verb *belong*. A man said to me, *Bee yŭe dhu jin·lmun dhut bĕelau·ngz tu dhús yuur bee·ŭldĕen?* "Are you the gentleman that belongs to this here building?" In a fair, the general mode of inquiry as to ownership is—*Du yŭe bĕelau·ng tu dhai·z yuur stee·ŭrz?* "Do you belong to these here steers?" *Ue· du bĕelau·ng tu dhee·ŭz au·s?* "Who belongs to this horse?"

THE PASSIVE VOICE.

The formation of passives is simple, and may be easily understood by reference to the examples under the auxiliary verbs. The use of the passive is comparatively rare, and to give a passive form to sentences which are at all involved in their construction or meaning, it is often necessary to go a long way round, as in the case of the complex relatives, in order to convey the idea. In such a phrase as *the dinner is being cooked*, although we might say *dhu dún·ur-z u-draas·ĕen*, the precise idea would not be conveyed. To do this we must return to the simple active: *Dhai bee u-draas·ĕen u dhu dún·ur*. To express that the cooking is just now complete, we should say, *Dhu dún·ur-z u-fún·ĕesh draas·ĕen*, or *Dhai-v u-fún·ĕesh u-draas·ĕen u dhu dún·ur*. For "It is said that we shall have war," we should say, *Dhai du zai aew dhut wee bee u-gwaa·yn vur t-ae·ŭ wau·ŭr.*

ADVERBS.

Adverbs of manner are usually formed as in ordinary English, except that, instead of *ly*, we generally sound the full syllable *luyk*. This is sometimes attached to the word to which it belongs, at others separated and placed after the verb, thus: *Ee du zing·ĕe laewd· luyk*, "He sings loudly." *Dhai-v u puur·dĕe nee·ŭr u-dùe·d luyk*, "They have pretty nearly done." *Uur kn git drùe· ut ai·zĕe luyk*, or *Uur kn ai·zĕe git drùe· ut luyk*, "She can easily finish it." *Dhaat-s vuur·ĕe wuul u-dùe·d luyk*, "That's very well done." *Uur wau·kth wuul luyk*, "She walks well." In these last examples we have the *luyk* even after *well,* itself an adverb. Doubtless our fondness for simile has tended to the preservation of the adverbial *like,* and we have, consequently, a number of conventional similes taking the place of the superlative adverb. *Ee uur·n lig u lau·ng duug,* "He ran like a greyhound," *i.e.* very quickly. *Aay wuur·ks lig u au·s,* "I work like a horse."

Adverbs are compared in the same way as adjectives, by inserting the distinctive terminations *ur* and *ĕes* before *luyk.* *More* and *most* are not used as forms of comparison of adverbs, even when the word is polysyllabic; but they are frequently used as intensitives along with the regular comparisons, thus: *Aay zúm ee du wuurk dhu moo·ĕes au·rdurli-ĕes luyk uv ún·ĕe mae·ŭn aay noa·ŭs,* "I consider he works the most *orderliest like* of any man I know." The same rule of adding the *luyk* applies to adjectives in *ly,* when used adverbially, as: *Dhai chik·ĕen du lèok luy·vlĕe luyk,* "Those chickens look *livelily.*" *Dhai zaed ee·ns uur wuz luuv·lĕe u-draas· luyk,* "They said how that she was *lovelily* dressed."

The termination *wai·z* is used to change some nouns and adjectives into adverbs, as *zuydwai·z* (sideways), *vrau·ngwai·z* (wrongways), *vruytwai·z* (rightways), etc.

Faa·rshĕen, "fashion," added to nouns or adjectives, gives them an adverbial force, thus *bran·dĕes faa·rshĕen* is "triangularly." *U oa·l yoa· u-draas·t au·p laa·m faa·rshĕen,* "An old ewe dressed up like a lamb," is the usual description of a lady in too youthful attire. So *skùe·faa·rshĕen* means "diagonally," *slúnfaa·rshĕen,* "slantingly," *treefaa·rshĕen,* "tree-like."

Also is frequently expressed by *un au·l.* Thus—*Main un bwuuyz un au·l,*[1] "Men and boys also." *Aay zaed zoa tùe un un au·l,* "I said so to him, also," *i.e.* moreover. A well-known old song has the chorus refrain ending in *Un poo·ŭr oa·l uung·kl Taŭ·m Kaub·lĕe un au·l,* "And poor old uncle Tom Cobley and all." Besides these may be noted—

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[1] This is widely diffused in the English dialects. In Scotland also *an'a'* (un-aa·) is the ordinary equivalent of *also,* "Nichol an' Alick an' a'."—M.

astrad·l	(astride)	taa·p-m taa·yŭl	(top on tail, *i.e.* upside down)
au·l ulau·ng	(at full length)	baak-n voa·r	(back in front)
un ee·n	(on end)	ee·n un aewt	(inside out)
aup-m ee·n	(up on end, *i.e.* upright)	praa·ps	(perhaps)
aup-m daewn	(topsy turvy)	mĕe-aa·p	(mayhap)
bĕeluy·k	(probably)	uuls	(else, otherwise).

Adverbs of Degree are also generally formed with *luyk*, even when there is no termination in *ly* in the corresponding English word; as *after, rather, pretty much, all, quite, almost, very, very much, very well, too, too much.* The same applies to all the words such as *awful, mortal, terrible*, etc., which form the superlative absolute of adjectives.

Wuz mae·ŭstur een u yee·ŭt luyk? Wuul aay zúmd u wau·z rae·ŭdhur luyk. "Was master in a heat (*i.e.* angry)? Well! I fancied he was rather*ly*." *Uur-z u nuys yuung uum·un, uun·ĕe aay zúm uur du tau·kĕe puur·dĕe muuch luyk,* "She is a nice young woman, only I seem (fancy) she talks pretty much*ly*." *Ees! ee-v u-dik-n au·l luyk,* "Yes! he has dyked (*tech.* used in hedging) it all*ly*." *Voa·r ún·ĕebau·dĕe kèod kau·m tùe um, dh-aewnz-d u-toa·ŭrd-n au·l tu pee·sez maus luyk,* "Before one could get to them, the hounds had torn him (the fox) all to pieces almost*ly*." *Dhikĕe rik-s u-puut aup vuur·ĕe wuul luyk,* "That rick is put up very well-*ly*." *Poo·ŭr oal soa·l! uur kaa·n yuur vuur·ĕe muuch luyk,* "Poor old soul! she cannot hear very much*ly*." *Aa·l gee·ĕe waun tùe· luyk,* "I will give you one, too-*ly*." *Ez ur u gèod fuul·ur tu wuurk? Wuul! dhai vrak·nz aew u úz· vuur·ĕe luyk,* "Is he a good fellow to work? Well! they reckon that he is, very." *Muuch* often means *strange, remarkable,* as: *Tez muuch yùe ad-n u-mĕet-n,* "It is strange you did not meet him." *Twuz muuch dhai kèod-n vuyn un,* "It was strange they could not find it."

In comparing, *as* is not used both before and after the adjective. We always say, like our German cousins, *Su gree·n-z u lik,* "*So* green as a leek."[1] This form is constantly strengthened by *all* = altogether, quite. *Uur-z au·l su bae·ŭd-z ee·*, "She is quite as bad as *he*." *Dhik-s au·l su gèo·d-z tuudh·ur*, "That one is quite as good as the other." *Yoa·ŭr bèots bee au·l s-aev·ĕe-z muyn*, "Your boots are quite as heavy as mine."

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[1] Compare Shaksp. Richard III. ii. 1. 83, "Look I *so* pale *as* the rest?" Romeo and Juliet, i. 1. 140, "All *so* soon *as*," etc., etc. The Ags. was *swá grén swá*, or strengthened, *eal swá* grén *swá*. This dialect retains the original form of the West Saxon in the first *so*, though in common with the other modern forms of speech it has substituted *as* for *so* in the second clause.—M.

The "so" of degree of received English is *dhaat* (or sometimes *dhaat dhae·ŭr*) with us, as in so many other of the English dialects. *Aay wuz u-tèok dhaat bae·ŭd, Aay wuz fút tu duy*, "I was taken so ill, I was almost dying" (lit. fit to die). *Ee wuz dhaat dhae·ŭr kau·ntrĕe kèod-n dùe noa·ŭrt wai un*, "He was so contrary (obstinately perverse) I could do nothing with him." *Tez dhaa·t un noa· mústae·ŭk*, "It is so and no mistake."

"Why" is frequently analyzed into *wau·t . . vaur*, as: *Wau·-d-ĕe dùe dhaa·t vau·r?* "Why do you do that?" *Aay kaa·n tuul wau·t ĕe dùe·d ut vau·r*, "I cannot say why you did it." *Dhaat·s wau·t ee zoa·ld-n vau·r*, "That is why he sold him." Again, *wuy? wuy·úv·ur? aew·úv·ur?* are seldom used except interrogatively, thus: *Wuy-s buyd dhae·ŭr gyaa·pĕen?* "Why dost stay there gaping?" *Wuy daed· ĕe uur·ĕe yuur zuul?* "Why did you hurry yourself?" *Wuy·úv·ur daed ur trús-n?* "Why ever did he trust him?" *Aew·úv·ur kaum ĕe vur tu lau·s yur ang·kichur?* "However came you to lose your handkerchief?"

Adverbs of Place are *wae·ŭr-vraum* (whence), *dhae·ŭr-vraum* (thence), *yuur-vraum* (hence), *wuur tùe* (whither), *thae·ŭr tùe*, (thither), *yuur-buy·* (here abouts), *thae·ŭr-buy* (thereabouts), *aedh·ur* (hither), *yaen dhae·ŭr* (yonder). *Dhee uurn yaen-dhae·ŭr, un bring aedh·ur dhu taa·klin dhae·ŭr-vraum*, "Thee run yonder, and bring hither the harness thence." *Dhai du lee·v naut vuur·ĕe vaa·r dhae·ŭr-vraum*, "They live not very far therefrom," *i.e.* thence. *Taed-n bèo dree guun shaut yuur·-vraum*, "It is not above three gun-shots herefrom," *i.e.* hence. *Neef taed-n dhae·ŭr, tez dhae·ŭr-buy·*, "If it is not there, it is close thereabouts." *Twuz jis yuurbuy· ee·ns dhai tuurn oa·vur*, "It was close by here that they turned over," *i.e.* upset. *Wuur bee gwaa·yn tùe su vaa·s?* "Whither are you going so fast?" *Wae·ŭr d-ĕe git dhik·ĕe soa·ŭrt u blaa·k gee·z* *vraum?* "Where did you (or *do* you) get that sort of black geese from?"

Another very common adverb of place is *oa·m* or *aum*, "home," signifying *close, quite, quite as far as.* It is used with various prepositions both before and after it, as: *Ee du lee·v oa·m bĕezuy·d u mee*, "He lives close beside me." *Kas-n zee· un? dhae·ŭr úz oa·m bĕezuy·d u dhee*, "Canst not see it? there (it) is close beside thee." *Haun ĕe kau·m tu dhu taa·p u dh-ee·ŭl dhu gee·ŭt-s oa·m buy· pun yur rai·t an*, "When you come to the top of the hill, the gate is close by on your right hand." *Dhu wau·dr wuz aup oa·m tu mee vau·rk*, "The water was so deep as to come quite up to my fork." *Drai·v ee·n dhee·ŭz stee·ŭrt, ee·n oa·m tu dhu nak· oa un*, "Drive in this large nail in home to its neck." *Dhu buul·ĕeks-v u-baa·rk dhu yuung treez aup oa·m tu dhu twúz·lz oa-m*, "The cattle have barked the young trees quite up to their twizzles," *i.e.* to where the branches grow out from the stem. *Dhu nai·v wai·nt ee·n oa·m tu dhu aa·f oa un*, "The knife went in home to its haft." *Aaw·ŭr aewz úz aum· bĕe dhu chuurch*, "Our house is close by the church." This latter form is pronounced shorter as an adverb than *au·m*, the noun "home," while *oa·m*, both noun and adverb, is much longer than *oa-m* (of them).

"Away" is used in this dialect to express distance, as: *U′v·ur su vaa·r uwaa·y*, "Ever so far away." It is used frequently where "off" would be heard in received English: *uur·nd uwai·* is vernacular for "absconded." I heard a woman say, *Muy mae·ŭn-z uur·nd uwai·*, that is, "My husband has absconded and left me" (become a *run-away* in short).

Adverbs of Time are *tu-dai* (to-day), *dai-mau·rnĕen* (this morning, *lit.* to-day morning) *tu nai·t* (to-night), *tu voar·nèon* (this forenoon), *t-aa·drnèon* (this afternoon), *nai·tuymz* (night-times = evenings after working hours), *mau·rnĕentuymz* (mornings, *i.e.* before going to work), *tu-maa·rŭ* (to-morrow), *tu yuur* or *dĕe yuur* (this year) as in Early English, *'mbaay*, *'mbaay nai·t* (by-and-bye, by-and-bye in the evening), *bĕe-naew* (just now, *i.e.* a short time ago), *maa·ru mau·rnĕen* (to-morrow morning), *laa·s nai·t*, *nuw*, *eet* (yet), *naut eet* (not yet), *urad·ĕe* (already), *sinz* (since), *zèo·n* (soon), *wai·n* or *haun* (when).

Dhain, dhan, are not used as adverbs of time, except in the sense of *immediately afterward,* as: "I went home and *dhan* I went to bed," but they are often heard as illative particles, like French *donc.* *Haun yùe kau·ms tu dhu spuy·pau·s, tuurn raewn pun yuur rai·t an·,* "When you come to the directing post, turn to the right." This last has often been said to me. *Bee shoa·ŭr yùe aa·n u-mae·ŭd-n urad·ĕe, sinz uz mau·rnĕen!* "To be sure you have not already made it, since this morning!" *Ee àa·n u-bún unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs sinz dai-mau·rnĕen, voa·r brak·sus,* "He has not been here (*lit.* aneast the place) since this morning before breakfast." This last was the answer given me to an inquiry for an absent labourer.

To these should be added, "*by the time that,*" expressed by *tee·ŭl* (compare the Northern *while*), as: *Tee·ŭl dhik-s u-dùe·d t-l bee tuym vur laef wuurk,* "By the time that (article) is finished, it will be time to leave work." *Tee·ŭl ún·ĕebau·dĕe-v u-rai·tud au·p dhik, kèod maek u nùe· wún,* "By the time that one has repaired that (gate) one could make a new one." *Ee· ul bee rad·ĕe tee·ŭl yùe du kau·m,* "*He* (the article) will be ready by the time that you arrive." Also *uun·dur waun, wai dhu sae·ŭm,* both signifying "at the same time," but used with much exactness under differing circumstances. The first implies the performance of two acts at one time, or by making one journey, as: *Haun ĕe gèos daewn baewt dhu dhingz, kaa·r u zuyv lau·ng wai· ĕe, ee·ns múd kuut aup dhu mauks au·l uun·dur waun,* "When you go down to see the cattle, carry a scythe with you, so that you may cut the tufts (of grass) at the same time, or at one journey." The second implies something instantaneous, as in the specimen "Nan Scott," p. 99, where the thunder is described as following the lightning like the report of a cannon, at the same instant as the flash. *Aay zeed-n slúp raewn dhu kau·ndur, un wai dhu sae·ŭm aay daaps raewn tuudh·ur wai, un zoa aay jis meet wai Mae·ŭstur Jin·lmun,* "I saw him slip round the corner, and at the same moment I ran quickly round the other way, and so I just met with 'Mr. Gentleman.'"

An interesting form is *dhoa* (then),[1] as: *Wai·n-s zee un?*

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[1] Ags. *ðа*, Old Southern Eng. *þo, tho,* the proper adv. of *time*, while *ðonne,*

"When didst see him?" *Aay zee·d-n dhoa·, neet vai·v mún·ĕets avoa·r ut aa·pt,* "I saw him then, not five minutes before it happened." *Aay toa·ld-n oa ut dhoa·, jist ee·ns ee km ee·n,* "I told him then, just when he was coming in." *Dhoa* also implies "just now," *i.e.* a short time since. *Wai·n wauz ut? dhoa, neet tùe mún·ĕets ugau·n,* "When was it? just now, not two minutes ago."

The Negative forms are made by prefixing *noa,* as before shown (see Adjectives), and by adding *-n* to verbs, thus: *Ee ad-n nuudh·ur nai·v,* "He had not any knife at all." *Wúd-n ĕe gèo·?* "Would you not go?" The usual emphatic negative is *nau·t. Wús dhee dhae·ŭr? Aay wuz nau·t,* "Wast thou there? I was not." *Neet* (not) is also common: *Dhur úd-n neet ziks u-laef·,* "There are not six left." *Neet* also does duty for "nor yet." *Aay kèod-n vuy·n nuudh·ur buurd neet nuudh·ur rab·ut pun au·l dhu faa·rm,* "I could not find (never) a bird nor yet (never) a rabbit on all the farm." *Naat* and *naa·t* are also frequently heard, and are semi-emphatic—*Ee waud-n uur·tud, naat wau·n-beet,* "He was not hurt, not one bit. *Aay wúd-n dùe ut, naa·t aa·y!* "I would not do it, not I!"

The direct replies to questions are: *Noa·ŭ* (no), *ees* (yes), *aay·ĕe, sh* (yes) (the latter *sh,* yes, sounded by *in*spiration). We have also "*ms*" as a very common form of *yes.*

PREPOSITIONS.

These are as follows:

about	ubaewt, buwt, baewt, baewd.	against	ugin·, ugee·ŭns, gin, buy.
above	bèo·, ubèo·, uboo·.	along	lau·ng, ulau·ng, yaen.
across	ukraas·, kraa·s.	amid	múds.
after	aa·rtur, aa·dr.	among	mangs(t.

þanne, than, then, was more of *order, sequence,* and *inference.* So in Chaucer, of time:

> "Palamon right *tho,*
> With holy herte . . . he rose."

Of sequence:

> "Telle us som moral thing, that we mow lere
> With wit, and *thanne* wol we gladly lere."

It is interesting to find *tho* still existing in the Old West-Saxon land. From Northern English it disappeared eight centuries ago.—M.

at	tu, tùe, u.
before	voa·r, uvoa·r.
behind	bĕe-uy·n.
beneath	een uun·dur.
beside	bĕezuy·d.
besides	zuydz.
between	twiks.
beyond	bĕeyaen·.
by	bĕe, buy.
down	daewn.
except, *i.e.* all but	ee·ntùe, ee·ntu.[1]
except	buut, saep.
for	vaur, vur.
from	vrau·m, vrum.
in	ee·n.
into	een·tu.
near	nee·ŭr, nuy, unee·ŭs.

notwithstanding	vur au·l dhaat.
of	uv, -v, oa, u.
off	oa·f oa (*lit.* off of).
on	au·n, paun, u.
out	uwt, aewt.
over	oa·vur.
round	raewn.
through	drùe.
to	tùe, tu.
towards	tu-wau·rdz.
under	uun·dur.
underneath	een uun·dur.
until, till	gin.
unto	aun·tu, auntùe·.
up	au·p, uup.
upon	paun au·p pun taa·p oa.
with	wĕe, wai.
without	udhaewt, dhaewt.

Whether the first syllable of *ubaewt, ubèo·*, or *ukraa·s* is sounded or not depends much upon the individual speaker; but nearly every one would sound it distinctly, when either is used adverbially—as in *au·l ubaewt, au·p ubèo, rai·t ukraa·s.* On the other hand, most people would say: *Puut dhu stik baewt dhu baa·k oa un,* "Put the stick about his back" (*i.e.* thrash him). *Aay zee·d-z ai·d bèo· dhu gee·ŭrdn waa·l,* "I saw his head above the garden wall." *Dhai km ee·n kraa·s dhu mee·ŭd,* "They came in across the meadow."

In the sense of "against the character," when *by* (see below) is not used, it is most common to say *ugin·* or *ugee·ŭns,*—as *Dhu poa·lèes kèod-n zai noa·ŭrt ugin· un* or *ugee·ŭns-n,* "The police could say nothing against him." But on the other hand, *Aay laef dhu ladr gin dhu baa·rn,* "I left the ladder against the barn."

So also of *ulau·ng* or *lau·ng, Dhai wai·nt lau·ng dhu rau·ŭd,* "They went along the road." But *Ee aa·t-n au·l ulau·ng,* "He hit him all along" (*i.e.* at full length). *Aay toa·ld èe zoa, au·l ulau·ng,* "I told you so, all along."

Yaen has scarcely the meaning of *along,* and still less does it mean *yonder.* *Aay zeed-n gwai·n yaen tu-wau·rds dhu kyùe·urt,* "I saw him going forwards towards the court" (farm yard). Again in *Bring yaen dhu taa·klĕen,* "Bring the tackling (harness)," it implies either *hither* or *along with you.* It is both adverb and preposition. We can say *kaa·r yaen* as well as *bring yaen.* *Kaa·r yaen dhu vuur·kĕen lau·ng wai· ĕe,* "Carry the firkin along with you."[1]

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[1] Probably *even to,* like *just to, all to, quite to,* etc. "They were all drowned even to two or three."—M.

"At" is almost invariably *tùe* or *tŭ.* *Aay wuz u-lúv·ĕen tŭ Taa·nun,* "I was living at Taunton." *Aa·l dùe ut u dún·ur tuym,* "I'll do it at dinner time." Here the *tu* is contracted by the previous *t* (see note, p. 27). In speaking of persons *of* any place we always say *tu,* as *Maes·tr Baĕ·ŭl tu Brad·vurd,* "Mr. Bale *to* Bradford." *Maes·tr Gree·n tu Kaa·sl,* "Mr. Green *to* Castle" (*i.e.* of the Castle hotel). *Mr. Brèo·ks tu shau·p,* "Mr. Brooks *to* shop" (*i.e.* of the shop). *Dhai wuz au·l tu skit·lz,* "They were all *to* (*i.e.* playing at) skittles." Again, we say "to bed" for "in bed." *Aay buyd tu bai·d u vaur·tnĕet,* "I stayed in bed a fortnight." Compare "going to bed." *Wee wuz au·l au·p t-ee·ŭl,* "We were all up at the hill." "At" is frequently omitted altogether; "at home" is never heard. *Wuy-s-n buyd au·m?* "Why dost thou not stay at home?" *U'z dhee mae·ŭstur au·m?* "Is thy master (at) home?" Again, *tŭ* does duty for "out of." *Goa tu doa·ŭrz,* "Get out of doors," is always said to dogs. *Dhu lan·lau·rd puut um tu doa·ŭrz,* "The landlord turned them out of doors," is the regular expression attending such circumstances; usually the result of too much drink.

"By," in addition to its ordinary sense, preserves the old English one of *against.* *Yùe nú·vur daed-n yuur noa·ŭrt buy un,* "You never heard anything against him" (*i.e.* his character). This is a most common expression in daily use by all. Compare "I know nothing *by* myself," I. Corinthians iv. 4.

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[1] The radical idea is *change of place, onward:* Ags. *ȝeond,* "*adv.* yond, yonder, thither, beyond; *prep.* through, over, as far as, after, beyond."—*Bosworth.* Compare *ȝend* in Layamon: "he sende wide . . . *ȝend* þane londe," he sent far through the land. Scotch *yont, yount,* adv. and prep., as: *sit yont*=move a little to one side, *he lives yont the streit*=along or down the street. All the instances given in the text would also be used in Scotland. The root is demonst. *yon,* Ags. *ȝeon.* *Yaen-dhae·ŭr* on p. 84 is not *yonder,* but the Sc. *yont there,* i.e. over there.—M.

Ee·ntùe and *een·tu* must not be confounded. I heard the following at Taunton market: *Wee gut um au·l een·tu dhu puynz turaa·klĕe, ee·ntùe baewd u dree ur vaaw·ur,* "We got them all (the sheep) into the pens directly, except about three or four." *Dhae·ŭr wuz u skaor oa-m, ee·ntu tùe ur dree,* "There was a score of them, all but two or three."

Noa·bau·dĕe bud mee waud-n u-kau·m, "Nobody except me had arrived." *Au·l oa-m saep aaw·ur Wee·ŭl wuz ufee·ŭrd,* "All of them except our Will was afraid." *Saep* is often used for *unless,* as: *Saep yùe du zai·n daewn, aay shaa·n kau·m,* "Unless you send down, I shall not come." *Ee oa·n dùe ut saep ee-z u-foo·ŭs tùe,* "He will not do it unless he is obliged."

Een uun·dur and *au·p pun taa·p oa* are fair samples of our pleonasms. "Until" is always *gin.* *Aay kaa·n paa·y ut gin Kuur·smus,* "I cannot pay it until Christmas." *Gin*[1] also means "by." *Ee·ul bee u-dùe·d gin Zad·urdĕe,* "It will be finished by (or against) Saturday."

"For," as in ordinary English, has sometimes the force of *considering* or *taking into account.* Very recently, on inquiring of a man as to his sister's health, his reply was, *Au·! uur-z múd·lĕen luyk vur shee·, bud, poo·ŭr dhing, ee·-z u tuur·ubl luy·ubaewt fuul·ur,* "Oh! she is middling like for *her* (*i.e.* taking her circumstances into account), but, poor thing, *he* (her husband) is a terrible lie-about fellow" (*i.e.* drunken and profligate).

Again, to "send for" or "go for," or "send after," implies to "fetch." *Zai·n daewn aa·dr-n turaa·klĕe,* "Send down to fetch him directly."

"From," when used with a relative pronoun, or with "where" or "here," is very commonly placed immediately after the adverb, or else at the end of the sentence; while "hence" is always expressed by *yuur·-vraum* (here-from), and "thence" *dhae·ŭr-vraum.* *Kĕep rai·t voa·r yuur·-vraum, gin ĕe kaum tu dhu vaaw·ŭr krau·s-wai,* "Keep right on hence, until you come to the four-cross-way." *Baewd u dree muy·ŭld yuur·-vraum*, "About three miles from here." In a local paper, dated Aug. 13th, 1875, I read, "She made no statement as to who she had the orders from." *Ue· daed um git dhai flaaw·urz vraum?* "Who did they get those flowers from?" *Wuur-s bring dhaat èo·d vraum?* "Where didst bring that wood (faggot) from?" Frequently "from" is expressed by *tùe=at*, especially in interrogative phrases beginning with "where," as *Wae·ŭr d-ĕe ae·ŭ dhik tùe?* "Where did you have (get) that *to?*" (=at).

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[1] Ags. *gean,* root of *ongean, ongeanes,* whence *agains,* corrupted *against.* The use of *against* for time=*awaiting, expecting, till,* is common in Shakspere: "I'll charm his eyes *against* he do appear."—M.N.D. iii. 2. 99. So Genesis xliii. 25: "They made ready the present *against* Joseph came at noon." So in Scotch, "ageane Saturday," "ageane nicht."—M.

It will be noticed that *of* is sometimes *u* and sometime *oa*, and before a vowel occasionally *uv*. The first two forms depend entirely on the stress laid on the preposition, the sound varies from the faintest breathing *ŭ* to the longest *oa·*. I heard a man remark upon a curious stratum of rock, *Un·ĕebau·dee-d núv·ur blee·v haut faa·rshĕen t-aez oa·*, "One would never believe what fashion it is of." Several verbs take the preposition *of* after them, as: *Aay nuv·ur tich oa un*, "I never touched him." *Uur kèod-n uulp oa ut*, "She could not help it." *Help* is used transitively without the preposition. *Haut-bee aa·ktĕen oa·?* "What are you doing?" *Dhai bee au·vĕes u-laar·fĕen oa un*, "They are always laughing at him." Many more, indeed most verbs, take *oa* (of) after the present participle, though not after the tenses.

"To" is frequently used in the sense of "belonging to," as: *Yuur-z u loa·k, bud dhur aed-n nuudh·ur kai· tùe un*, "Here's a lock, but there is no key belonging to it." *U′z ur u súl·ur tu dhik aewz?* "Is there a cellar belonging to that house?" *Noa! dhur waud-n nuudh·ur buul·ĕe tuy tùe un*, "No! there was no belly-band belonging to *him*" (the cart). Compare "No clothes *to* his back," "Not a shilling *to* his name," etc.

Nee·ŭr and *nuy* are also adjectives and adverbs, while *unee·ŭs* is the true preposition. It would not so commonly be said, *Aay waud-n nee·ŭr dhu plae·ŭs*, as *Aay waud-n unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs*, "I was not near the place." *Twuz nuy· dhu paewn wuur uur meet-n*, "It was near the pound where she met him." *Twuz u vuur·ĕe nee·ŭr mús·, yùe ad-n u-pik ut* *een·*, "It was a very near miss, you had not picked it in," *i.e.* that you escaped a thrashing. *Aay wuz vuur·ĕe nee·ŭr pun gwai·n*, "I was very near going" (*lit.* near upon). *Núv·ur lèok aa·dr ee·, doa·n ĕe goo unee·ùs-n, un ee ul km raewn*, "Never look after (never mind) him, do not go near him, and he will come round." *Yùe mus u-wai·nt au·n vuur·ĕe nuy· aaw·ur aewz*, "You must have gone on very near our house."

"On" is sometimes expressed by *u*, as: *Dhee-s dùe ut u puur·pus*, "Thou didst do it *on* purpose." *Aay zeed-n u Zún·dĕe.* "I saw him on Sunday."

CONJUNCTIONS.

These are as follows:

an, un, n	and
au·r, ur	or
buut, bud, búd	but
uudh·ur, uudh·urwuyz	either
an, neef (eef when following *n*)	if
wúv·ur	however
-n	than
dhaat, dhut, ut	that
kuuz, kúz, ukau·z, vur kau·z, kae·ŭz wuy	because
tùe, tŭ	too
dhan	then (*i.e.* in that case)
nau·r, nur	nor
vau·r, vur	for (*i.e.* because)
nuudh·ur	neither
thau·f, au·f, oa·f	though
een kee·ŭz	in case (*i.e.* lest)
ee·t	yet
saep	except = unless
aew·sumúv·ur, aew·sumdúv·ur	nevertheless

Among these may also be classed *dhoa* (though), corresponding to the German *doch*, as *Aay bee.saa·f u wuz dhae·ŭr, dhoa*, "I am certain he was there, though." In this case *dhoa* has rather the force of "notwithstanding," or "after all." On the other hand, *U wuz dhae·ŭr dhoa·*, with the stress on *dhoa*, the phrase would mean, "He was there *then*" (see Adverbs of Time, p. 86). *Dhai·n, dhan·* (then), also is frequently used like *dhoa*, i.e. German *doch*, but it is not used as an adverb of time, as: *Naew dhai·n stue·pĕed!* "Now then stupid!" *Dhan· dhee shaet-n ab-m t-au·l*, "Then thou shalt not have it at all." Compare German *denn* as distinct from *dann*.

"Too" is often pronounced very short—*tŭ* : *Ee·z u maa·yn suyt tŭ baeg· vur-z kloa·ŭz*, "He is a great deal too big for his clothes" (*i.e.* very conceited). This is the ordinary phrase, and quite preserves the old idea of the blown-out frog in the fable.

As will have been remarked in previous examples *nau·r*, *nur*, rather than *au·r*, *ur* (or), is used in a negative sentence, as: *Uur aa·n u-ae·ŭd noa mai·t nur dringk*, lit. "She has not had no meat nor drink."

"But" is often peculiar, as: *T-wuz au·l buut· dhu wag·ĕen ad-n u-uurnd oa·vur-n*, "It was *all but* (*i.e.* the nearest escape) the waggon had not run over him." *Uur kyaa·ld-n bud ŭv·urĕe-dhing*, "She called him *but* everything." This is a very common phrase, and implies that she abused him to the utmost of her power. *Saa·r-n jis bud rai·t!* "It serves him just *but* right." It is possible, in the last two examples, the *bud* may mean "about"; but if so, the contraction is abnormal.

Uudh·ur and *nuudh·ur* (either, neither), which are ordinarily used in negative and positive sentences respectively, are in this dialect used precisely the reverse, and moreover they are placed only at the end of sentences, where in received English they would come first, as: *Dhee kas·n muuv-m, nuudh·ur*, "Neither canst thou move it" (*lit.* "Thou canst not move it, neither"). *Uudh·ur* is scarcely ever used in this sense, but usually means "otherwise": *Uur kn ab-m uudh·ur*, "Otherwise she can have it."

An for "if" is not common, although I have heard it in ordinary talk, but *An yŭe plai·z*, "If you please," is the regular phrase of the hill country, and may be heard daily. *Km aa·dr dhu kyaa·v an yùe plai·z, muum*, "(I am) come after (*i.e.* to fetch) the calf, if you please, madam." But *neef*[1] is the ordinary equivalent of *if*, as: *Neef aay wuz yùe*, etc., "If I were you," etc. *Ee oa·n dùe ut, neef ee kn uulp oa ut*, "He will not do it, if he can help (of) it." *Wuul dhae·ŭr naew! neef taed-n tu lae·ŭt!* "Well there now! if it is not too late!"

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[1] *Neef* represents the older English *An if, and if*, common in Shakspere and the Tudor writers: "Oh father! *an' if* you be my father." *If* was first strengthened by a preceding *and*, like Latin *et-si*, Greek *καὶ εἰ*; then the whole combination was weakened to the meaning of *if* alone. Occasionally the *if* was omitted before a subjunctive, leaving *an* or *and* apparently filling its place, whence *an' yùe plai·z* for "an 't please you."—M.

Thau·f and *au·f*[1] are the general forms of "though," but *oa·f* is frequently heard. All these forms are regularly used where in received English we might say "if," as *T-aed-n-z au·f ún·ĕebau·dĕe kèód voo·ŭrd ut,* "It is not as if one could afford it." *Uur lèo·kud su boa·l-z thau·f uur daed-n noa· noa·ŭrt ubaewd ut,* "She appeared as bold as if she knew nothing of it." *U gyaa·pud jis dhu vuur·ĕe sae·ŭm-z oa·f u núv·ur zeed zh-dhing uvoa·ŭr,* "He gaped just the very same as though he never had seen such a thing before." I have often heard this sentence.

"That," the conjunction, is frequently sounded *ut;* the *demonstrative* and the *relative* in this dialect never drop the *dh.* Thus: *Wee au·vĕes zaed· ut ee-d gee aewt tu laa·s,* "We always said that it would yield at last," *i.e.* break down, as of a bridge. To yield after persuasion is *Tu gee· ee·n.*

A very common expression amounting to a conjunction is *een kee·ŭz. Kaa·r lau·ng u lauk u haa·y*[2] *een kee·ŭz múd-n bee noa·ŭn dhae·ŭr,* "Carry along a lock (*i.e.* little) of hay, lest (there) may not be any there." "Along" here means along with you, and is also very frequently used thus. *Bring lau·ng yuur dhingz, een kee·ŭz múd bee een waunt oa-m,* "Bring along your things, in case (you) may be in want of them." In this sentence *yaen* might be substituted for *lau·ng* without change of meaning.

Kae·ŭz wuy is a very common form of "because." *Wau·t-s dùe dhaat vau·r? Kuuz Aay daed.* "What didst do that for? Because I did." Sometimes we hear *vur kau·z,* as: *Aay kèod-n gèo·, vurkau·z u wuz tu oa·l,* "I could not go, because I was too old." In a church which I know well the clerk, according to custom, gave out this notice: *Dhús úz tu gee· noa·ŭtĕes! dhur oa·ŭnt bee noa Zún·dĕe yuur naks Zún·dĕe, kae·ŭz wuy·, Mae·ŭstur-z gwaa·yn Dau·lĕesh vur prai·ch,* "This is to give notice! there will not be any Sunday here next Sunday, because Master is going to Dawlish to preach." In country parishes the *paa·sn* is generally called *Mae·ŭstur.*

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[1] The change of the final guttural in *though* to *f* is very old in the north; *þof, thof,* is the regular form in the Cotton MS. of Cursor Mundi; but the *Ayenbite* has *þaȝ, þah.* It is singular that the initial consonant is *th* and not *dh,* while the concessive *dhoa* has *dh* (see above). It looks as though they were separate words like the Dutch *doch* and *toch.* In Scotch *though* has always had the *th* sound; old Scotch *thocht,* but the concessive *though* agrees with it. The dropping of the initial *th* in *though, that, than* (oaf, ut, n), is important in its bearing on the pretended Norse influence in the Scotch and North English *ăt* for *that.*—M.

[2] The *h* here is emphatic.

INTERJECTIONS.

Of these we have many, depending much upon intonation for their significance. *Oa·!* (Oh!) may be either an exclamation of wonder, of delight, or of terror. So *Aa·* (Ah) may be a cry of shame, an exclamation of incredulity, a sigh of pain, or a sign of assent. There are some interjections whose meaning is certain. *Poo! poa·!* mean contempt. *Oa aa·y!* doubt, opposition. *Ps! sh! ts!* vexation; *ae·ŭkh! ae·ŭks! ẹe·ks!* disgust; *uloa·!* surprise; *haa·y! wuop!* calling after another.

With us interjections often run into long sentences, such as *Zing oal roa·ŭz -n buurn dhu buul·ĕes!* "Sing old rose and burn the bellows!" *Daewn vaa·l dhu shaam·lz, wai· uurn dhu bèoch·ur!* "Down falls the shambles, away runs the butcher! These are both very common exclamations. The first is merely an outbreak of joviality; the last an exclamation of fun at any grotesque catastrophe. There are, moreover, all the well-known exclamations, but it is doubtful whether to treat them as dialect or slang.

We have, however, a number of expletives, which rather take the form of exclamations, and which are invariably placed at the end of a sentence or clause; such as: *Wauns!* (once!) *gèod naew!* often *gèon·ur!* (good now!) *muyn!* (remember!) *s-noa!* (thou knowest! or dost know?) *faa·y (?foi), faa·th!* (in faith!) *eentuy·!* (not I!) *tuy· noa!* (that I know!) *zuy· noa!* (as I know!) The last three are negative only. *Ee·s shoa·ŭr!* (yes sure!) *shoa·ŭr nuuf!* (sure enough!) *dhaat-s au·l!* (that's all!) *dhae·ŭr naew!* (there now!) *waut-s dhingk u dhaat· naew?* (what dost think of that now?) *ee·ns múd zai!* (as one might say!) *een u man·ur u spai·kĕen!* (in a manner of speaking!).

DIALECT SPECIMENS.

As connected examples of the dialect, I add the following specimens, the first of which, referring to a well-known local superstition, was written down from the account of one of the patriarchs of the valley.

In the various specimens it will be found that *u* sounded very short does duty for no less than ten or twelve distinct meanings, depending of course on the context. All are pronounced precisely alike, and hence the same symbol must be used; viz.: 1. *a* (the article); 2. the participial prefix; 3. *of;* 4. *at,* as *u dún·ur tuym;* 5. *on,* as *u Zad·urdĕe;* 6. *he;* 7. *she;* 8. *I;* 9. *one* (impers. pron.); 10. *have*; 11. the present participial prefix, as *u-zee·ĕen,* which may be *on;* 12. *there,* as *ee·s u wauz,* "Yes! there was."

LAU·ŬRD PAU·PUM.

Aay spoo·ŭz yùe-v u-yuurd baewd dhu guurt oa·kn tree aup tu Wuul·itn Paa·rk èo·d, waut dhai yùe·z tŭ zai Lau·ŭrd Pau·pum wuz u-kuun·jurd ee·ntùe? Wuul, doa·ŭn ĕe zee·, aup dhae·ŭr, yùe noa· zr, dhur-z u guurt dĕep bau·dum gèos daewn zu dĕep-s dhu taaw·ur, maa·yn stee·ŭr luyk, ee·ns múd zai, sae·ŭm-z dhu zuyd gwai·n aup oa·vur Wuul·itn ee·ŭl, un dhee·ŭz yuur oa·kn tree, ee wuz u tuur·ubl guurt tree shoa·ŭr nuuf, ee wau·z, un ee groa·ŭd een dhu zuyd oa un, un dhik·ĕe plae·ŭs ez u-kau·l Wúls·km bau·dum. Yùe muyn dhu poo·ŭr oa·l Taum Aa·lway, doa·ŭn ĕe zr? dhaats dhu oa·l Taum Aa·lwayz faa·dhur, yu noa· zr, uulp tu droa· un, un wai·n dhai droa·d-n, neef ee daed-n tuurn rai·t taa·p-m taa·yŭl — ee·s shoa·ŭr, un dhu ai·d oa un wuz rai·t daewn uun·dur, un dhae·ŭr ee buyd, un dhai wuz au·l o-am

LORD POPHAM.

I suppose you have heard about the great oak tree up at Wellington Park wood, which they used to say Lord Popham was conjured (transformed) into? Well, don't you see, up there, you know, Sir, there is a great deep bottom (ravine) goes down as deep as the tower, very steep like, as one may say, the same as the side going up over Wellington Hill, and this here oak tree, he was a terrible great tree sure enough, he was, and he grew in the side of him (*i.e.* of the ravine), and that place is called Wilscombe bottom. You mind (recollect) the poor (*i.e.* deceased) old Tom Alway, don't you, Sir? that is, the old Tom Alway's father, you know, Sir, (he) helped to throw (fell) him, and when they threw him (the oak), if he did not turn right top-on-tail (head over heels)—yes sure, and the head of him was right down under, and there he abode (remained), and they was all of them

u-fee·ŭrd vur tu goo· u-nee·ŭs-n, un dhai zaed uw ee·ns u wuz u-kuun·jurd noa·baudĕe kèo·d-n núv·ur druug-n aewt; un dhae·ŭr ee buyd; un tu laa·s, aay wai·nt au·p, kuuz dhai zaed dhu au·sez-ud shoa·ŭr tu bee u-kee·ŭld, wai tai·n au·ksn, un aay ee·cht um au·p tùe un, un dhu buul·ĕeks pèold-n aewt, un druug-n ee·ntu dhu ang·ĕen kloaz, un aay núv·ur zeed noa·ŭrt, un dhai wuz au·l oa-m u-wau·ytĕen un u-lèok·èen ee·ns aay shúd ubún u-kee·ŭld, un kau·lĕen oa mee u fèo·ŭl vur tu goo·, bud aay nùv·ur zeed noa·ŭrt, nĕet noa·baudĕe tau·l. Un yùe noa·ŭs Wuul·itn Paa·rk aewz, doa·ŭn ĕe zr? Aay muyn haun aay yùe·z tu lee·v dhur, au·p-m dhu gyaa·rut, dhur wuz u plae·ŭs dhur dhoa· luyk u oa·vm luyk, un aay zeed zum bèoks wai rai·dĕen ee·n um, ee·n un, un dhai zaed dhaa·t wuz Lau·ŭrd Pau·pumz bèoks, un dhai zaed uw u mae·ŭn wai·nt au·p un zau·t u-struyd pun dhu rèo·f wai u buy·bl, ee·ns ee· múd-n kaa·r-n uwai·. Ee·s! un tez u tuur·ubl oa·l aew-zr, bud aay núv·ur daed-n zee noa·baudĕe dhae·ŭr, noa wús-n mĕezuul·, ee·ns múd zai. Aew·sumúv·ur aay-v u-yuur·d um zai uw dhu saa·rvun chaa·p wuz gwai·n vur tu lat· aewt dhu aa·kn-ĕe aa·dr-z mae·ŭstur-d u-kumd au·m vrum maa·rkut, un dhur wuz u mae·ŭn u-stèo·d ee·n dhu gee·ŭt wai, un ee kèo·d-n oa·pm un, un haun dhai tèok-n tu dùe·ĕen naks mau·rnĕen, vur kau·z ee ad-n u-puut aewt dhu au·s, doa·ŭn ĕe zee· zr? u zaed, s-ee·, uw u kèo·d-n puut-n aewt, kuuz dhur wuz u mae·ŭn u-stèo·d rai·t ee·n dhu gee·ŭt wai, ee·ns ee kèo·d-n

afraid for to go aneast (near) him, and they said how he was so conjured nobody could not never drag him out; and there he remained; and at last I went up, because they said the horses would (be) sure to be killed, with ten oxen, and I hitched them up to him, and the bullocks pulled him out, and dragged him into the hanging-close, and I never saw nought, and they was all of them a-waiting and a-looking how I should have been killed, and calling of me a fool for to go, but I never saw nought, nor yet nobody at all. And you knows Wellington Park house, don't you, Sir? I mind when I used to live there, up in the garret, there was a place there then like a oven like, and I saw some books with reading in them, in him (the oven), and they said that was Lord Popham's books, and they said how a man went up and sat astride upon the roof with a bible, in order that he (the devil) might not carry him (the roof) away. Yes! and 'tis a terrible old house, Sir, but I never did not see nobody there, no worse than myself, as (one) might say. Nevertheless I have heard them say how the servant chap was going for to let out (*i.e.* into a pasture) the hackney after his master had come home from market, and there was a man stood (standing) in the gate-way, and he could not open him (the gate), & when they took him to doing (scolding) next morning, because he had not put out the horse, don't you see, Sir? he said, said he, how he could not put him out, because there was a man stood right in the gate-way, so that he could not open

oa·pm un, un dhai au·vĕes yùe·z tu zai uw dhai au·vĕes kunsúd·urd dhaat dhaeŭr wuz Lau·rd Pau·pum.	him (the gate), and they always used to say how they always considered that there was Lord Popham.

The same old man recounted the following, and I subsequently visited the spot, which I well knew, and found the riggle, and very evident marks of the attempt to dig the stone out, as narrated. It is a boulder of *Chert* or *Flint* of very unusual size.

Yùe-v u-yuurd um tuul, aa·n ĕe zr? baewd dhu Kauk-krau· stoa·ŭn. Aa·n ĕe shoa·ŭr? Wuul, t-ez trùe aay shoa·ŭr ĕe; un dhai au·vĕes du zai dhut dhik·ĕe stoa·ŭn úv·urĕe tuym ee du yuur dhu kauk krau·, ee du git aup-m tuurn raewn. Ee·s shoa·ŭr! un tez u tuur·ubl guurt stoa·ŭn, un dhai au·vĕes kunsúd·urd uw dhur wuz u pau·t u muun·ĕe een uun·dur-n: ee·s, un aay uurd-n au·l raewn moo·ŭr-n dree vèot dĕep, un dhur wuz u rig·l een un; ee·s u wau·z, un yùe kn zee un naew, un dhai puut u chaa·yn raewn un, un ee·ch dhu pluw ·u au·sez tùe un vur tu tuurn un oa·vur, bud dhai waud-n ae·ubl vur tu muuv-m, un dhae·ŭr ai·z tu dhee·ŭz vur·ĕe aaw·ur. Oa·! aa·l tuul ĕe dhu wai tu goo tŭe un zr. Yùe nau·s dhu Kyat-n Fúdl, doa·ŭn ĕe zr? Wuul, dhuur-z a paa·th goos een u leedl vuur·dur au·n, daewn tuwau·rdz Km Puy·n. Wuul, dhik dhae·ŭr guurt stoa·ŭn-z een pun dhu ee·ŭl, un-eef yùe vau·lĕes dhikĕe paa·th yùe-l kau·m tùe un.	You have heard them tell, have you not, Sir? about the Cock-crow stone. Have you not sure? Well, it is true I assure you; and they always do say that that stone every time he do hear the cock crow, he do get up and turn round. Yes, sure! and it is a terrible great stone, and they always considered how there was a pot of money in under him: yes, and I rid (dug) him all round more than three feet deep, and there was a riggle (groove) in him; yes there was, and you can see him (the groove) now, and they put a chain around him, and hitched the plough (team) of horses to him for to turn him over, but they were not able for to move him, and there (he) is to this very hour. Oh! I will tell you the way to go to him, Sir. You know the "Cat and Fiddle," do you not, Sir? Well, there is a path (which) goes in a little further on, down towards "Culme Pyne." Well, that great stone is in upon the hill (*i.e.* common), and if you follow that path you will come to him.

The following, told me by a rough carpenter who makes coffins, illustrates, like the incident of the oak tree in "Lord

Popham," the popular belief that the devil turns things topsy-turvy. The husband had died long before the wife.

Ded yùe noa· dh-oa·l Nan Scott, zr? Mau·s úv·urĕe bau·dĕe wuz u-fee·ŭrd oa ur, kuz dhai noa·d aew ur kud oa·vurlèok· um neef ur wúd·. Wuul, aay mae·ŭd dhu kau·fĕen vaur ur, un su trùe-z aay bee yuur, twuz jist u-kau·m wee ad·n au·l oa us u-bún u-kee·ŭld. Twuz su fuyn u dai-z úv·ur yùe zeed, un dhu zún-d u-bún u-shai·nĕen su bruyt-s ún·ĕedhing, haun jis ee·ns wee wuz gwai·n een tu dhu chuurch doo·ŭr dhur kau·md u vlaa·rsh u lai·tnĕen fút tu tae·ŭr aup dhu vuur·ĕe stoa·ŭnz, an· wai dhu sae·ŭm dhu thuun·dur buust aewt luyk a kan·un. Wuul, haun wee kau·m tu puut ur een dhu kee·ŭv, neef dh-oa·l mae·ŭn waud-n u-tuurnd rai·t raewn. Aay noa· u wauz, vur aay uulp puut-n ee·n. Oa·! wee noa·d waut twauz ud u-dùed ut. Wee noa·d vuur·ĕe wuul dh-oa·l fuul·ur-d u-bún dhur lau·ng wai un. Trùe-z yùe bee stan·ĕen dhae·ŭr.	Did you know the old Nan Scott, Sir? Almost every body was afraid of her, because they knew how she could overlook them if she would. Well, I made the coffin for her, and so true as I am here, it was just come (*i.e.* a near miss) we had not all of us been killed. It was as fine a day as ever you saw, and the sun had been shining as bright as anything, when just as we were going in at the church door, there came a flash of lightning fit to tear up the very stones, and[1] with the same the thunder burst out like a cannon. Well, when we came to put her in the cave (vault), if the old man (her husband) was not turned right round. I know he was, for I helped to put him in. Oh! we knew what it was (that) had done it. We knew very well the old fellow (the devil) had been there along with him. (It is as) true as you are standing there.

A woman, questioned by the *paa·sn* as to the reason which had induced her, a respectable woman, to marry a disreputable man, replied—

Doa·n ĕe zee·, zr, aay-d u-gau·t su muuch wau·rshĕen, un aay wuz u-foo·ŭs tu zai·n ut au·m, un ee·f aay ad-n u-ae·ŭd ee·, aay mus u-boa·ŭt u duungk.	Don't you see, Sir, I had got so much washing, and I was forced to send it home, and if I had not had *him* I must have bought a donkey.

Not long since, a man, whose wife had very recently died, came and asked me to buy two hives of bees from him. Well knowing the old superstition, I suggested that the man wished to sell the bees at once, lest they should die. His reply was: "*Au! noa·ŭ zr! aay-v u-toa·ld um oa· ut.*" "Told them! how so?" "*Au! aay aa·v zr.*" "Nonsense! how could you tell your bees?" "*Au! bud aay daed· zr, aay shoa·r-ĕe.*" "Well, but how?" "*Au! aay wai·n daewn pun mĕe nee·z, ee·ns dhai kaa·rd ur aewt, un aay wús·purd ut tùe um: zoa yùe noa kizh·un tu bee u-fee·ŭrd baewd um zr,*" "Oh! I went down on my knees whilst they were carrying her (the wife's corpse) out, and I whispered it to them: so you (have) no occasion to be afraid about them, Sir."

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[1] Much emphasis on *and*.

Upon Old Christmas-day (6th January) it was a common custom, well within the writer's recollection, and it is probably still practised in some parts, to go out at night into the orchard, and to put a large pitcher of toast and cider into the *vau·rk* (fork) of one of the largest apple trees, and then for the farmer (who always has his gun) and his men to shout together in unison:

Aa·pl tree! Aa·pl tree! aay wausaa·yŭl[1] dhee!	Apple tree! Apple tree! I wassail thee!
Un wee·sh dhee gèod luuk·!	And wish thee good luck!
Tu bloa· un tu bae·ŭr!	To blow and to bear!
Aa·tvèolz! Kaa·pvèolz! dree bèo·shl bai·gvèolz!	Hatfuls! Capfuls! three bushel bagfuls!
Un muy pau·guts vèol tùe·— Ue·rau·!!	And my pockets full too! Hurrah!!

The gun is then fired and the *hurrahs* are renewed. The toast and cider are next passed round, and then the whole is repeated to another tree, and so on. I have heard that some of the cider is also thrown upon the tree, but I have not seen this done, though I have no doubt this libation is poured out to the presiding genius of the apple tree.

Boys keeping birds from corn always shout in a peculiar cadence, repeated in each line, and which lays all the stress ou the two first syllables in each clause, the following:

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[1] It will interest readers of Sir Walter Scott to know that in *wausaa·yŭl*, the accent is always on the last syllable, which is lengthened out as shown in the text. The word is in common use.

[This accentuation of *wassail*, taking us back to the Anglo-Saxon *wæs hæl!* is very interesting, and, doubtless, embodies a genuine tradition, which the conventional *wassail*=*woss'il* has quite lost.—M.]

Jee· au·p aay oa·!
Yùe· rèok·, yùe kroa·!
Au·l raew·n dhu vee·ŭlz!
Aay-v gau·t tu goa·!
Au·p tùe· muy neez!
Ee·n vrau·st un snoa·!
Wuy· dùe· yùe ai·t?
Muy· mae·ŭsturz wai·t!
Wuy·l aa·y luy daewn!
Un· goo· tu zlai·p!

For the two specimens following I am indebted to Mr. Mildon of Wellington, Somerset, who kindly wrote them down in ordinary spelling. I have merely transcribed them into Glossic, and Mr. Mildon has been good enough to go over the proofs with me.

Kaun·vursae·ŭrshun twiksJaa·k Stoo·ŭn un Bau·b Wèob·ur.

WuulBau·b! aayaa·n u-zee·d ĕe uz lau·ngfèol tuym, wuul! aew bee· ĕe? Aay aa·n u-zee·d ĕe zinz aay wai·n tu Kuur·tn fae·ŭr laa·s wik. Aay tuurnd een kaew un kyaa·v, un aa·dr dhaat, aay staa·p tu fae·ŭr, un mĕet wai Júm Dhuurn, un mee un ee· ad vuyv puynts u bee·ŭr, un Júm gaut druungk, un zoa wuz aay umau·s, bud aay gaut au·m puur·dĕe wuul, bud aay vaa·l daewn wau·ns un naa·k mĕe nee·, un aa·dr aay km au·m, aay ad puynt suy·dur un wai·n tu bai·d. Naks mau·rnĕen au·p aay gau·t, un wai·n tu wuurk, un mae·ŭstur zaed, "Wuul Jaa·k! haut-s dhu maa·dr wai dhee? dhee urt lèok·ĕen bae·ŭd; naew g-uup-m dh-au·rchut slaa·tĕen eo·d, dhaat· ul taek dhu zwat·ĕen aewt u dhee, un dhee-t zèo·n bee au·l rai·t u-gee·ŭn"—ŭn zoa aay bee!

Conversation between Jack Stone and Bob Webber.

Well Bob! I have not seen you this longful time, well! how are you? I have not seen you since I went to Crediton faïr last week. I turned in (drove a) cow and calf, and after that, I stopped at the fair, and met with Jim Thorne, and me and he had five pints of beer, and Jim got drunk, and so was I almost, but I got home pretty well, but I fell down once and knocked my knee, and after I came home, I had (a) pint (of) cider and went to bed. Next morning up I got, and went to work, and master said, "Well Jack! what is the matter with thee? thou art looking bad (ill), now go up in the orchard chopping wood, that will take the sweating out of thee, and thou wilt soon be all right again"—and so I am!

Aew Júmz Kèok toa·l Bau·b Zaa·ltur au·l baewt dhu Wuy·ŭl Bee·ŭs Shoa.

"Wuul Bau·b! aew bee· ĕe?" "Wuul, múd·lĕen, dhang·k ĕe, Júmz, uun·ĕe lee·dl beet u-krú·pŭld au·p luyk." "Wuul, daed ĕe gèo· tu Kuul·upm yús·dĕe?" "Noa·ŭ! Júmz, aay daed-n." "Wuul! neef dhee ad·s u-wai·nt, dhee wút·s-n núv·ur u-vurgau·t ut. Aay wai·nt een, un haun Aay km ee·n taa·p u dhu taewn, dhoa· Aay mĕet wai jis lau·t u voaks, kèod-n dhingk wau·t wuz au·p; bud Aay zeo·n zeed waut t-waurz; dhur wuz u guurt huul·ĕefunt un u fuul·ur aup taa·p oa un ruy·dĕen, un dhae·ŭr ee lèok·ud nai·n vèot aay, un ee gau·t u guurt lau·ng snaewt, un dhu bwuuyz u-uur·nĕen aa·dr-n, un dhan aup kau·m tùe kaa·mee·ŭlz, wai tùe guurt uumps taa·p dhu baa·ks oa-m, ee·ns ún·ĕe bau·dee kèod ruyd twiks um. Un zoa dhai wai·n au·l raewn dhu taewn. Wuul, Aay dhau·ŭrt Aay-d g-een un zee au·l dhu lau·t, un zoa Aay staa·p gin ziks u klau·k, un dhoa Aay gau·teen vur zik·spuns. Wuul, Aay dhau·ŭrt, tu mĕe zuul·, dhingks aay wautúv·ur bee um luyk! un Aay zèo·n zeed. Dhu fuus dhing Aay zeed wuz tùe guurt wuyt dhingz luyk—sae·ŭm-z u guurt dau·g, búd zu baeg-z u duung·kĕe, un dhae·ŭr dhai kĕep wag·ĕen dhur ai·d·z vuur·wurdz un baa·kwurdz, kèod-n buyd stee·ŭl u mún·ĕet, un u mae·ŭn zaed t-wuz sai· bae·ŭrz. Wuul, oa·m bĕezuy·d u dhai, wuz u laut u guurt uug·lĕe dhings shoa·ŭr nuuf! Aay doa·noa waut dhai wuz luyk aa·rlĕe, zau·mfĕen lig dau·gz dhai wauz, búd zu baeg-z u kyaa·v, t-wuz au·l soa·ŭrts, un dhu mae·ŭn

How James Cook told Bob Salter all about the Wild Beast Show.

"Well Bob! how are you?" "Well, middling, thank you, James, only a little bit crippled up like." "Well, did you go to Collumpton yesterday?" "No, James, I did not." "Well! if thou hadst gone, thou wouldst never have forgotten it. I went in, and when I came in (to) the top of the town, then I met with such (a) lot of people, (I) could not think what was up; but I soon saw what it was; there was a great elephant and a fellow up (on the) top of him riding, and there he looked (*i.e.* seemed to be) nine feet high, and he (had) got a great long snout, and the boys running after him, and then up came two camels, with two great humps (on the) top (of) the backs of them, so that any one could ride between them. And so they went all round the town. Well, I thought I would go in and see all the lot, and so I waited until six o'clock, and then I got in for sixpence. Well, I thought, to myself, thinks I, whatever are they like! and I soon saw. The first thing I saw was two great white things like—(the) same as a great dog, but as big as a donkey, and there they kept wagging their heads forwards and backwards, (they) could not stay still a minute, and a man said it was sea bears. Well, home (*i.e.* close) beside them, was a lot of great ugly things sure enough! I do not know what they were like hardly, something like dogs they were, but as big as a calf, it was all sorts, and the man

zaed t-wuz wuol·fs un aay-ai·nurz un blaa·k bae·ŭrz au·l tugadh·ur. Wuul! s-noa Bau·b, un u lee·dl vaar·dur daewn wuz haut Aay dhau·ŭrt dhu bas·t u dhu woa·l keet, un dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz u guurt ee· luy·un un tùe ur dree smaa·ldur wúnz, un dhae·ŭr dhai wau·z u-graew·ŭlĕen un mae·ŭkĕen au·p jish nauyz, wuul, Aay dhau·ŭrt, Bau·b, haut muus bee· een dhai fuur·ŭnt kuun·trĕez wuur dhai bee uur·nĕen baewt wuy·ŭl-úyk! Wuul, dhae·ŭr! Aay-d zèo·udur bee yuur wai u draap u suy·dur un u beet u buurd-n chee·z-n aewt dhae·ŭr wuur dhai du zai aew dhai du saa·r su muuch wae·ŭjez. Wuul Bau·b! naew aa·l tuul ĕe, s-noa, baewt dhu ras·t oa ut; dhur wuz tùe· guurt spau·tĕe dhingz, waut dhu shoa· fuul·ur kyaa·l lúp·urz, un dhai kĕep au·n graew·ŭlĕen un kraa·lĕen baewt dhu kee·ŭj; Aay shèod-n luyk vur tu bee lau·ng wai dhai· vuur·ĕe lau·ng; wuul, dhur wuz tùe· puur·dĕe krai·turz, au·l strae·ŭkĕe daewn u-kraa·s dhu baa·k luyk, waut dhai du kyaa·l zai·burz, dhaat-s wuy·ŭl jaa·k aa·sez, s-noa, Bau·b; wuul, un dhai wau·z puur·dĕe, shoa·ŭr! un, Aay dhau·ŭrt, wúd-n dhai· lèok wuul luyk een aaw·ur skwuy·urz poa·nĕe kaa·rĕej? Wuul, dhan Aay lèok·ud tu dhu muung·kĕez, un fuur·ŭnt buurdz, un zau·m oa-m-d u-guut jich lau·ng bee·ŭlz, dhut Aay núv·ur daed-n zee· noa jish fuun·ĕe dhingz u-voa·ŭr, dhut Aay daed-n bĕeguur·j mĕe zik·spuns u bee·t. Aay núv·ur daed-n zee· dhu wuy·ŭl bee·ŭs u-voa·r naew, un Aay bee vai·v-m fee·tĕe yuur oa·l kau·m oa·l Kuur·smus dai, bĕeyaen· au·l dhu dai·z een dhu wuur·dl. Wuul,

said it was wolves and hyenas and black bears all together. Well! thou dost know Bob, and a little further down was what I thought the best of the whole kit, and that there was a great *he* lion and two or three smaller ones, and there they was growling and making up such (a) noise, well, I thought, Bob, what must (it) be in those foreign countries where they are running about wild like! Well, there! I would sooner be here with a drop of cider and a bit of bread and cheese, than out there where they do say how they do serve (*i.e.* earn) so much wages. Well Bob! now I will tell you, you know, about the rest of it; there was two great spotted things, what the show fellow called leopards, and they kept on growling and crawling about the cage; I should not like for to be along with them very long; well, there was two pretty creatures, all streaky (*i.e.* striped) down across the back like, what they do call zebras, that is wild jack asses, you know, Bob; well, and they was pretty, sure! and I thought, would not they look well like in our squire's pony carriage? Well, then I looked to (*i.e.* at) the monkeys, and foreign birds, and some of them had got such long bills, that I never did not see no such funny things before, that I did not begrudge my sixpence a bit. I never did not see the wild beasts before now, and I am five and fifty years old come old Christmas day, beyond all the days in the world. Well, Aay-v u-toa·ld ĕe maus au·l baewt ut; dhur wuz u brae·ŭv lau·t u lee·dl dhingz uur·nĕen baewt dhu kee·ŭjez jis dhu sae·ŭm-z guurt kyat·s, ee·ns múd zai·, un wau·n puur·dĕe krai·tur wai smaa·l ligz, lig u stag—dhu shoa· fuul·ŭr zaed aew dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz u han·tĕeloap. Wuul, zèon-z Aay-d u-zee·d ut au·l oa·vur, dhu luy·un tae·ŭmur kumd ee·n, un tu zee haut ee· dùed, ud u mae·ŭd yur ae·ŭr stan· un ee·n. Ee wai·nt een lau·ng wai dhu tuy·gur fuus·, un plaa·yd aup au·l soo·ŭrts u gee·ŭmz wai dhu tuy·gur, un dhan dhu tuy·gur puut au·p úz tùe· guurt pau·z taa·p dhu fuul·urz shoa·ldurz, Aay dhau·ŭrt úv·ŭree mún·ĕet ee-d u buyt úz ai·d oa·f. Wuul, aewt u kau·m, un dhan u wai·nt een mangs dhu luy·unz un dh-aay-ai·nurz un mae·ŭd um juump drùe èo·ps au·l u-vuy·ur, un dhan dhai buur·nd au·p uurd lai·ts luyk, ee·ns dhu plae·ŭs lèok·ud nuuf tu fruy·tn ún·ĕebau·dĕe, un dhu fuul·ur kumd aewt au·l uluy·v un naa·t uur·tud wau·n beet. Aay dhau·ŭrt Aay shèod u zingkt uwai·, un dhan Aay kumd aewt kuz dhai wuz gwaa·yn vur tu veed· um, un dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz zik·spuns aek·stur.

Wuul, un aa·dr dhaat Aay mĕet wai Aa·rĕe Pèol, un wee ad dree kwau·rts u bee·ŭr tugadh·ur, un gaut aa·f drung·kĕe luyk, un kum au·m ulau·ng au·l ruyt gin Aay kau·m tu dhu vaaw·ur kraa·s wai, un dhae·ŭr Aay vaa·ld oa·vur u duung·kĕe dhut wuz u-luy·d ukraa·s dhu hroa·ŭd, un Aay puut mĕe an· aup taa·p dhu baa·k oa un, un vee·ŭld u wuz ae·ŭrĕe; Aay dhau·ŭrt shoa·ŭr t-wuz dhu vuur·ĕe oa·l fuul·ur úz-zuul, neef daed-n

I have told you almost all about it; there was a brave lot of little things running about the cages, just the same as great cats, as (one) might say, and one pretty creature with small legs, like a stag—the show fellow said how that there was an antelope. Well, (as) soon as I had seen it all over, the lion tamer came in, and to see what *he* did would have made your hair stand on end. He went in along with the tiger first, and played up all sorts of games with the tiger, and then the tiger put up his two great paws (on the) top (of) the fellow's shoulders; I thought every minute he would have bitten his head off. Well, out he came, and then he went in amongst the lions and the hyenas, and made them jump through hoops all on fire, and then they burnt up red lights like, so that the place looked enough to frighten anybody, and the fellow came out all alive and not hurt one bit. I thought I should have sunk away, and then I came out, because they was going for to feed them, and that there was sixpence extra.

Well, and after that I met with Harry Poole, and we had three quarts of beer together, and got half drunky like, and came home along all right until I came to the four cross way, and there I fell over a donkey that was lying across the road, and I put my hand up (on) top (of) the back of him, and felt he was hairy; I thought sure it was the very old fellow himself, if (it) did not

maek mĕe ae·ŭr stan· rai·t un ee·n! un dhaat dhae·ŭr mae·ŭd mee soa·bur, un au·m Aay goo·us su váa·s uz úv·ur Aay kèo·d. Zoa naew Aay zúm Aay-v u-toa·ld ĕe au·l baewd ut, un naks tuym dhai kau·ms, du dhee· gèo un zee dhu wuy·ŭl bee·ŭs, dhee-t núv·ur vurgeet· ut."	make my hair stand right on end! and that there made me sober, and home I goes so fast as ever I could. So now I seem (*i.e.* consider) I have told you all about it, and next time they come, do thou go and see the wild beasts, thou wilt never forget it."

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

The following attempt at rendering the Book of Ruth into idiomatic dialect-speech may be compared with others, particularly Dr. Murray's Scotch. I am aware of the unsatisfactoriness of Scripture specimens generally, but the objection does not apply to a rural narrative like that of Ruth.

DHU BÈOK U RÈO·TH.

Chaa·ptur I.

1. Naew ut vaa·ld aewt een dhai dai·z, haun dhu jij·ez wuz u-rùe·ŭlĕen, ee·ns dhur wuz u dee·ŭrth een dhu kuun·trĕe. Un u saa·rtĕen mae·ŭn oa Bath-lae·ŭm Jùe·du, ee wai·n voo·ŭth vur tu buyd een dhu kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub, ee· daed un uz wuyv, un uz tùe zúnz lau·ng wai un.

2. Un dhik·ĕe mae·ŭn wuz u-kyaa·l Ai·lúm·ulĕek, un úz wuyv, uur wuz u-kyaa·l Nai-oa·muy, un uz tùe bwuuyz wuz u-kyaa·l Mae·ŭlun un Chúl·yun, dhai wuz au·l oa-m Ai·fruthuy·ts aewt oa Bath-lae·ŭm Jùe·du. Un dhai kau·md ee·ntu dhu kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub, un dhae·ŭr dhai buyd.

3. Un Ai·lúm·ulĕek, dhaat-s dh-uuz·bun u Nai-oa·muy, zoa tu spai·k, ee· duyd; un uur wuz u-laf·, uur wau·z, un ur tùe zúnz lau·ng wai ur.

4. Un dhai tèok dhur zuulz u wuyv u-pee·s, aewt u dhu wŭom·ĕen u Moa·ub; wau·n u dhai wuz u-kyaa·l Au·rpu, un dhu tuudh·ur oa-m wuz u-kyaa·l Rèo·th. Un dhai lee·vd een dhik·ĕe plae·ŭs baewd u tai·n yuur.

5. Un Mae·ŭlun un Chúl·yun dhai duyd tùe·, dhu boo·ŭdh oa-m; un zoa dh-uum·un wuz u-laf· u-dhaewt uudh·ur waun uv ur tùe zúnz ur ee·t ur uuz·bun.

6. Dhan uur gau·t au·p wai ur daa·rtur lau·z, ee·ns uur múd gèo· baak ugee·ŭn vrum dhik·ĕe kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub: vur uur-d u-yuurd aew dhut dhu Lau·ŭrd ud u-muy·ndud úz oa·n voaks, een gee·ĕen oa-m brai·d.

7. Zoa uur wai·n voo·ŭth aewt u dhik·ĕe plae·ŭs wuur uur wau·z, un uur tùe·daa·rtur lau·z lau·ng wai ur; un dhai wai·nt au·n pun dhu hroa·ŭd vur tu gèo baak· tu dhu lan· u Jùe·du.

8. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tùe uur tùe daa·rtur lau·z, gèo· ! gèo baak· ai·ch wau·n oa ĕe tu yuur mau·dhurz aewz: dhu Lau·ŭrd dae·ŭl kuy·nlĕe lau·ng wai· ĕe, sae·ŭm-z yùe-v u-dae·ŭlud lau·ng wai dhai· dhut bee dai·d, un lau·ng wai mee·.

9. Dhu Lau·ŭrd graa·nt ĕe, ee·ns ĕe múd vuyn ras·, ai·ch wau·n oa ĕe, een dh-aewz u yuur uuz-bun. Dhan· uur kee·sd um; un dhai laef·tud aup dhur vauys, un wai·pud.

10. Un dhai zaed tu uur·, Shoa·ŭrluy· wee wŭol· gèo baak· laung wai· ĕe, tu yoa·ŭr voaks.

11. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed, Tuurn yur-zuulz baak· ugee·ŭn mĕe daa·rturz; waut d-ĕe wee·sh vur gèo· laung oa mee· vaur? úz ur ún·ee moo·ŭr zúnz een muy èo·m naew, ee·ns dhai múd kau·m vur tu bee yur uuz·bunz?

12. Tuurn yur-zuulz baak· u-gee·ŭn muy daa·rturz, gèo· yur oa·ŭn wai·z; vur aay bee tùe· oa·l vur t-ae·ŭ u uuz·bun. Neef aay wuz vur zai·, aew aay-v u-gaut oa·ps, neef aay wuz t-ae·ŭ u uuz·bun tùe· (too) dhee·ŭz vuur·ĕe nai·t, un eef aay wuz vur tu bae·ŭr zúnz;

13. Wúd yùe wau·yt vau·r um gin dhai wuz u-groa·d au·p? Wúd yùe staa·p vur dhai·, vrum ae·ĕen u (having of) uuz·bunz? Noa· muy daa·rturz; vaur ut gree·vth mee tuur·ubl vur yoa·ŭr sae·ŭks, aew dhut dh-an· u dhu Lau·ŭrd-z u-gèo· aewt u-gin· mee.

14. Un dhai laef·tud aup dhur vauys, un wai·pud ugee·ŭn: un Au·rpu kee·sd ur mau·dhur lau; bud Rèo·th, uur clai·vud tùe· ur.

15. Un uur zaes, Lèok ĕe zee·, aew dhee zús·tur lau·-z u-gèo baak· tùe uur voaks un tùe uur Gau·dz: dùe· ĕe naew gèo baak aa·dr dhĕe zús·tur lau.

16. Un Rèo·th zaed, Doa·n ĕe bag oa mee vur tu laef· ĕe, ur vur tu gèo baak· vrum vaul·ĕe-een aa·dr ĕe: vur wurúv·ur yùe du gèo· aa·-l gèo tùe·; un wuur yùe du lauj·, aa·-l lau·j tùe·; yoa·ŭr voak-shl bee muy· voaks, un yoa·ŭr Gau·d muy· Gau·d:

17. Wuur yùe· du duy, aa· l duy un dhae·ŭr aa· l bee u-buur·ĕed: dhu Lau·ŭrd dùe zoa tu mee, un moa·ŭr tùe·, neef oa·ŭrt bud dath· du pae·ŭrt yùe· un mee·.

18. Haun uur zee·d aew uur wuz vèo·l muy·ndud vur gèo lau·ng wai· ur, dhoa· ur laf oa·f spai·kĕen tùe ur.

19. Zoa dhai tùe· wai·nt ulau·ng, gin dhai kau·m tu Bath-lae·ŭm. Un ut aa·pt ee·ns dhai wuz u-kau·m tu Bath-lae·ŭm, dhut dhu woa·l sút·ĕe wuz u-zau·t aup u-baewd um, un dhai zaed, úz dhúsh-yuur Nai·oa·muy?

20. Un uur zaed tùe um, doa·n ĕe kyaa·l mee Nai-oa·muy, kyaa·l mee Mae·ŭru: kuz dh-Au·lmuy·tĕe-th u-dae·ŭlud tuur·ŭbl bút·ur laung wai· mee.

21. Aay wai·nt aewt vèo·l un woa·l, ún dhu Lau·ŭrd-dh u-braa·t mee au·m ugee·ŭn ai·mptĕe an·dud: wuy d-ĕe kyaa·l mee Nai-oa·muy dhan; vau·r ĕe du zee· aew dhu Lau·ŭrd-dh u-tas·tĕefuy·d ugin· mee, un dh-Au·lmuy·tĕe-th u-flaek·tud mee.

22. Zoa Nai-oa·muy wai·n baak·, un Rèo·th, dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes, uur daa·rtur lau laung wai· ur, waut ud u-kum baak· aewt oa dhu kuun·trĕe oa Moa·ŭb: un dhai kau·m tu Bath-lae·ŭm jis tu dhu bĕegee·nĕen u baa·rlĕe aar·us.

Chaa·ptur II.

1. Un Nai-oa·muy-d u-gau·t u kee·nzmun-v uur uuz·bun, u mai·tĕe mae·ŭn oa wuulth, oa dhu faa·mlĕe u Lúm·ulĕek; un dhee·ŭzh-yuur mae·ŭn wuz u-kyaa·l Boa·az.

2. Un Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes zaed tu Nai-oa·muy, Lam·ĕe g-uup-m dhu vee·ŭl, vur tu lai·z dhu yuurz u kau·rn, aa·dr ee· dhut aay-shl vuyn grae·ŭs een dhu zuyt oa. Un uur zaed tùe ur, Gèo·, muy daa·rtur.

3. Un uur wai·nt un kau·m un lai·zud een dhu vee·ŭl aa·dr dhu rai·purz: unuur aa·p vur tu lai·t pun u pae·ŭrt oa dhu vee·ŭl waut wuz u-beelaung·ĕen tu Boa·az, dhu vuur·ĕe sae·ŭm mae·ŭn dhut wuz ukee·n tu Lúm·ulĕek.

4. Un eef Boa·az úz-zuul· daed-n kum ulau·ng jis dhoa·, vrum Bath-lae·ŭm, un zaed tu dhu rai·purz, Dhu Lau·ŭrd bee wai· ĕe. Un dhai spoak baak· un zaed tu ee·, Dhu Lau·ŭrd blas· yùe·.

5. Dhan Boa·az zaed tùe uz saa·rvun mae·ŭn waut wuz u-zau·t oa·vur dhu rai·purz, Ue·z maa·yd-z dhúsh-yuur?

6. Un dhu saa·rvun mae·ŭn waut wuz u-zau·t oa·vur dhu rai·purz spoak baak· un zaed, Uur-z dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕesh maa·yd, waut kum baak· laung wai Nai-oa·muy aewt u dhu kuun·trĕe u Moau·b:

7. Un uur zaed, Aay du praa·y oa ĕe vur tu lat mee lai·zĕe un gaedh·urĕe aa·dr dhu rai·purz mangs dhu shee·z:[1] zoa uur kau·m, un uur-dh u-buy·d úv·ur súnz úz mau·rnĕen tee·ŭl bĕe-naew· (just now), haun uur staa·pt u lee·dl beet een t-aewz.

8. Dhan Boa·az zaed tu Rèo·th, Doa·n ĕe yuur mee, muy daa·rtur? Doa·n yùe· g-een noa· uudh·ur vee·ŭl vur tu lai·zĕe, nur doa·n ĕe gèo wai· yuur-vraum, bud buyd wae·ŭr yùe bee·, lau·ng wai muy maa·ydnz.

9. Kĕep yuur uyz pun dhu vee·ŭl dhai bee rai·pĕen oa, un muyn yùe du vaul·ĕe um: aa·n aay u-chaa·rj dhu yuung mai·n ee·ns dhai shaa·n tich oa ĕe? un haun yùe bee thuus·tĕe, taek-n gèo tu dhu vuur·kĕenz, un dringk oa dhaat dhae·ŭr, waut dhu yuung mai·n-v u-drau·d.

10. Dhan uur vaa·l daewn pun ur fae·ŭs, un baew·ud urzuul· daewn tu dhu graewn, un zaes tùe un, s-uur,[2] Aew úz ut dhut aay-v u-vaewn grae·ŭs een yoa·ŭr uyz, ee·ns yùe shud taek kaewnt oa mee·, zee·ĕen aew aay bee bud u stran·jur?[3]

11. Un Boa·az spoak baak· un zaes tùe· ur, T-aa·th u-bún au·l u-shoa·ŭd tŭ mee, au·l waut yùe-v u-dùe·d tu yur mau·dhur lau súnz dhu dath· u yur uuz·bun: un aew yùe-v u-laf· yur faa·dhur-n

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[1] Sheaves, *v* often dropped in the plural.
[2] See note, p. 111.
[3] Not *strai·njur*, as in English.

yur mau·dhur-n yur kuun·trĕe wuur yùe wuz u-bau·rnd, un aew yùe bee u-kau·m tùe u laut u voaks waut yùe núv·ur daed-n noa· uvoa·ŭr.

12. Dhu Lau·ŭrd rai·kumpai·ns ĕe vur yur wuurk, un u vèol rai·waurd bee u-gid· tùe ĕe, bĕe dhu Lau·ŭrd Gau·d u Ưz·rae·ŭl, vur t-aez ee·n uun·dur eez wingz yùe bee u-kau·m vur tu trús yur-zuul·.

13. Dhan uur zaes, s-uur (says she), Lat mee vuyn fae·ŭvur een yoa·ŭr zuyt, mĕe Lau·ŭrd; kuz yùe-v u-kau·mfurtud mee, un kuz yùe-v u-spoakt lig u frai·n luyk tu yur saa·rvun, vur au·l dhut aay bae·ŭn u beet luyk waun u yur oa·ŭn maa·ydnz.

14. Un Boa·az zaes tu uur, s-ee· (says he), U dún·ur tuym yùe km aedh·ur, un ai·t saum u dhu brai·d, un dúp yur mau·sl een dhu vún·ĕégur. Un úur zau·t bĕezuy·d dhu rai·purz: un ee an·dud uur sum paa·rch kau·rn, un uur ai·t ut, un uur wuz u-saat·ĕesfuy un uur wai·nt uwai.

15. Un haun uur wuz u-gau·t au·p vur tu lai·zĕe, Boa·az gid aur·durz tùe uz yuung mai·n, un zaes tùe um, s-ee·, Muyn un lat uur lai·zĕe een (*in* not *even*) man·gs dhu shee·z, un doa·n ĕe shee·ŭm (rebuke, scold) uur oa ut.

16. Un taek-n lat vaa·l saum u dhu an·vèolz tùe·, u puur·pus vau·r ur, un laef· um ee·ns uur múd lai·z um, un muyn yùe doa·ŭn shee·ŭm uur vaur-t.

17. Zoa uur lai·zud een dhu vee·ŭl gin laef wuur·k tuym, un uur bee·ŭt aewt haut uur-d u-lai·z; un t-wuz ubaewd u tùe· bèosh·lz u baa·rlĕe.

18. Un uur tèokt ut au·p, un wai·nt een·tu dhu sút·ĕe: un ur mau·dhur lau zeed· haut uur-d u-lai·z: un uur braa·t ut voo·ŭth, un uur gid ur haut uur-d u-kĕep baak·, aa·dr uur wuz u-saat·ĕesfuy uurzul.

19. Un uur mau·dhur lau zaes tùe· ur, s-uur, Wuur-v ĕe bún u-lai·zĕen tùe, tu dai? un wae·ŭr-v ĕe bún tu wuurk tùe? blas·ĕed bee ee· dhut-v u-tèokt ukaewnt oa ĕe. Un uur shoa·ŭd uur mau·dhur lau, ùe t-wau·z uur-d u-bún u-wuur·kĕen lau·ng wai, un zaes, Dhu mae·ŭn waut aay-v u-bún wuur·k-ĕen lau·ng wai-z u-kyaa·l Boa·az.

20. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tùe ur daa·rtur lau, Blas·ĕed bee ee· u dhu Lau·ŭrd, kuz ee aa·n u-laf· oa·f úz kuyn-nĕes tu dhu lúv·ĕen un tu dhu dai·d. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tùe ur, Dhu mae·ŭn-z nee·ŭr u keen tùe-s, wau·n uv aa·wur nuy·ĕes keen·z voak.

21. Un Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes zaed, U zaes tu mee oa·vur-n ubèo·, s-ee·, Yùe muyn un kĕep vaa·s bĕezuy·d u muy yuung mai·n, gin dhai-v u-fún·ĕesh au·l muy aa·rus.

22. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tu Rèo·th uur daa·rtur lau, T-aez u gèo·d jau·b, mĕe daa·rtur, bud yùe shud g-aewt wai úz maa·ydnz, eéns dhai múd-n mĕet wai· ĕe een noa vee·ŭl uuls.

23. Zoa uur kĕep vaa·s bĕezuy·d dhu maa·ydnz u Boa·az u-lai·zĕen gin dhu ai·nd u dhu baa·rlĕe aa·rus, un u dhu wai·t aa·rus: un uur lee·v wai uur mau·dhur lau.

Chaa·ptur III.

1. Dhan Nai-oa·muy uur mau·dhur lau zaed tùe ur, Muy daa·rtur, shaa·n aay lèok ubaewt vur ras· vaur ĕe, ee·ns[1] múd bee wuul wai· ĕe?

2. Un naew aed-n Boa·az wau·n uv aaw·ur kee·n, ee· waut bĕelau·ng tu dhu maa·ydnz yùe-v u-bún lau·ng wai? Un lèok ĕe zee·! ee·z gwaa·yn vur tu wŭom· dhu baa·rlĕe tu nai·t een dhu draa·shĕen vloo·ŭr.

3. Wau·rsh yur-zuul dhan, u-nau·ynt yur-zuul, un puut au·n yur bas· kloa·ŭz, un geet uwai daewn tu dhu vloo·ŭr: bud doa·n ĕe maek yur-zuul u-noa·d tu dhu mae·ŭn gin jich tuym-z ee·-v u-fún·ĕesh úz vút·lz.

4. Un mĕe-aa·p, haun ee· du luy daewn, dhat yùe· shl maa·rk dhu plae·ŭs wuur u luyth, un yùe shl g-een, un au·nkuuv·ur úz veet, un luy yur-zuul daewn; un ee· ul tuul ĕe haut yùe shl dùe·.

5. Un uur zaed tu shee·, Au·l yùe zaes· tu mĕe aa·l dùe·.

6. Un uur wai·n daewn tu dhu vloo·ŭr, un uur dùe·d koa·rdĕen tu au·l waut ur mau·dhur lau-d u-toa·ld ur tùe.

7. Un wai·n Boa·az ud u-ai·t-n u-dringk, un úz aa·rt wuz muur·ĕe, u wai·n tu luy daewn tu dhu ai·n u dhu eep u kau·rn: un uur kau·m sau·f luyk, un au·nkuuv·urd úz veet, un luyd ur-zuul· daewn.

8. Un ut aa·pt ubaewd u twuulv u klauk u nai·t, dhut dhu mae·ŭn wuz u-fee·ŭrd, un tuurnd úz-zuul, un dhae·ŭr! neef u uum·un waud·n luy·ĕen tu dhu veet· oa un.

9. Un u zaed, Ue bee yùe·? Un uur zaes tu ee·, Aay bee Rèo·th yur an·maa·yd: sprad aewt dhan yur skuurt oa·vur yur an·maa·yd; vur yùe bee u nee·ŭr kee·nz-mun.

10. Un u zaed tu uur·, Blas·ĕed bee yùe· u dhu Lau·ŭrd, muy daa·rtur: vur yùe-v u-shoa·ŭd moo·ŭr kuyn-nĕes een dhu laa·tur ee·n dhun een dhu fuus· bĕegeen·ĕen, kae·ŭz wuy, yùe aa·n u-vaul·ĕed dhu yuung mai·n, wae·ŭr (whether) dhai bee poo·ŭr ur reech.

11. Un naew, muy daa·rtur, doa·n ĕe bee u-fee·ŭrd; aa·l dùe· tùe ĕe au·l dhut yùe du waunt vaur mee tùe·: vur dhu woa·l sút·ĕe u muy voaks un au·l, du noa· dhut yùe bee u au·nĕes uum·un.

12. Un naew t-úz trùe, shoa·ŭr nuuf·, dhut aay bee nee·ŭr kee·n tùe ĕe: aewsumdúv·ur dhur aez· u mae·ŭn nee·ŭrur u kee·n tùe ĕe-n aay bee.

13. Buyd yuur tu nai·t, un zoa shl bee·, neef ee· ul dùe vaur ĕe dhu pae·ŭrt uv u kee·nzmun, wuul: lat-n dùe dhu kee·nzmunz pae·ŭrt: bud un eef ee oa·n dùe dhu kee·nzmunz pae·ŭrt buy ĕe, dhan aa·l dùe dhu kee·nzmunz pae·ŭrt buy ĕe, zoa shoa·ŭr-z dhu Lau·ŭrd du lee·v: luy daewn gin dhu mau·rnĕen.

14. Un uur luyd tu dhu veet· oa un gin dhu mau·rnĕen: un uur roa·ŭzd aup uvoa·r kèod zee tu noa· waun ur tuudh·ur. Un u zaed, Doa·n ĕe lat um noa· aew dhut u uum·un kumd ee·n tu dhu vloo·ŭr.

15. U zaes tùe·, s-ee·, Bring oa·vur dhu vae·ŭl dhut yùe-v u-gaut au·n, un oa·ld-n aup. Un haun uur oa·ld-n aup, ee mizh·urd ziks

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[1] Observe the omission of the nominative.

mizh·urz u baa·rlĕe, un loo·ŭd ut aup paun ur: un uur wai·nt een·tu dhu sút·ĕe.

16. Un haun uur kum au·m t-uur mau·dhur lau, uur zaes tù shee·, Ue bee yùe·, muy daa·rtnr? Un uur toa·ld ur au·l waut dhu mae·ŭn-d u-dùe·d tùe ur.

17. Un uur zaed, Ee gid mee dhai·zh-yuur ziks mizh·urz u baa·rlĕe; vur u zaes tu mee·, s-ee, Doa·n ĕe gèo baak· lee·ŭrĕe (empty) tu yuur mau·dhur lau.

18. Dhan uur zaed, Zút stee·ŭl, mee daa·rtur, gin yùe du noa·, waut faa·rsheen t-l vaa·l aewt oa: vur dhu mae·ŭn oa·n lat ut buyd, ee· ul shoa·ŭr tu fún·eesh ut tu dai.

Chaa·ptur IV.

1. Dhan Boa·az tèokt úz-zuul aup tu dhu gee·ŭt, un dhae·ŭr ee zaut úz-zuul daewn: un puur·dĕe kwik aa·drwurdz, dhu keen·zmun waut Boa·az-d u-bún u-tuul·ĕen ubaewt, ee kau·m ulau·ng; un ee zaes tùe un, s-ee·, Aa·y! jich u wau·n! staa·p u waun zuy·d, zi-daew·n yuur. Un ee tuur·nd[1] uz-zuul u waun zuy·d, un zau·-daewn.[2]

2. Un ee tèok tai·n mai·n u dhu uul·durz u dhu sút·ĕe, un zaed, Zit yur zuulz daewn yuur. Un dhai zau·daewn.

3. Un u zaes tu dhu kee·nzmun, s-ee·, Nai-oa·muy, uur waut-s u-kaum ugee·ŭn aewt u dhu kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub-z u-zúl·ĕen uv u beet u graewn, waut Lúm·ulĕek aaw·ur bridh·ur yùe·z tu bĕelau·ng tùe:

4. Un aay laa·kud vur tu tuul ĕe oa ut, ee·ns yùe múd buy· ut uvoa·r dhu taewnz voaks, un uvoa·r dhu uul·durz u muy faa·mlĕe luyk. Neef ĕe bee u muyn vur tu rai·dai·m[3] ut, rai·dai·m ut dhun: bud u-nee·f yùe bae·ŭn u muyn vur tu rai·dai·m ut, wuy· dhan tuul mee·, ee·ns aay múd noa·: kuz dhur aed-n nuudh·ur bau·dĕe uuls vur tu rai·dai·m ut; un aay bee aa·dr yùe·. Un dhu kee·nzmun zaed, Aay wŭol· rai·dai·m ut.

5. Dhan Boa·az zaes tùe un, Dhu sae·ŭm dai· ĕe du buy dhu vee·ŭl u graewn aewt u dhu an· u Nai-oa·muy, yùe mus buy un tùe· u Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes, uur dhut-s wuyv oa ee· dhut-s dai·d, ee·ns yùe múd ruyz aup dhu nae·ŭm u dhu dai·d pun úz eenuur·ĕetuns.

6. Un dhu kee·nzmun zaed, Aay bae·ŭn ae·ŭbl vur rai·dai·m ut vur mĕezuul·, uuls aay shud spwuuy·ŭl mĕe oa·un eenuur·ĕetuns: yùe· rai·dai·m muy rai·tshúp vur yoa·ŭrzuul; kuz aay bae·ŭn ae·ŭbl vur tu rai·dai·m ut.

7. Naew dhúsh-yuur wuz dhu wai· dhai aa·ktud fau·rmurlĕe een Uz·rae·ŭl, kunsaa·rnĕen oa rai·dai·m·ĕen, un kunsaa·rnĕen u chan·jĕen, ee·ns dhai múd maek úv·urĕedhing au·l saa·f un shoa·ŭr

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[1] *To turn*, being an active verb, it requires a direct object in the dialect.

[2] When *t* and *d* come together, the former is usually dropped; see *zi-daew·n* in previous clause. See also notes, pp. 27, 28.

[3] *Redeem* is rather a "fine" word for dialect, but it is used, and I have always heard it pronounced *rai·dai·m*, i.e. with both syllables slowly and emphatically pronounced. This is usually done in speaking words of this class; *inheritance* is not an uncommon word. *Then* is sounded *dhan* when an adverb, and *dhun* when it is the unemphatic *doch*.

luyk; u mae·ŭn yùe·z tu pèol oa·f úz shùe·, un gid-n tùe úz naa·ybur: un dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz u wee·tnĕes een Úz-rae·ŭl.

8. Zoa dhan dhu kee·nzmun zaes tu Boa·az, s-ee·, Buy ut vur yur-oa·n zuul. Zoa ee drae·d oa·f úz shùe.

9. Un Boa·az zaed tu dhu uul·durz un uvoa·r au·l dhu voaks, u zaes, sŭs ee·,[1] Yùe bee au·l wee·tnĕesez dhee·ŭz dai, aew dhut aay-v u-boa·ŭt au·l dhut wuz bĕelaung·ĕen tu Lúm·ulĕek, un au·l dhut wuz u-bĕelaung·ĕen tu Chúl·yun un Mae·ŭlun, oa·f vrum dhu an· u Nai-oa·muy.

10. Oa·vur-n ubèo·, aay-v u-boa·ŭt tùe·, (also) Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes, dhu wuyv u Mae·ŭlun, vur tu bee muy· wuyv, vur tu ruyz au·p dhu nae·ŭm u dhu dai·d pun úz eenuur·ĕetuns, ee·ns dhu nae·ŭm u dhu dai·d múd-n bee u-kuut oa·f vrum uman·gs úz bridh·urz luyk, un vrum dhu gee·ŭt uv úz plae·ŭs: yùe bee wee·tnĕesez au·l oa ĕe dhee·ŭz dai.

11. Un au·l dhu voaks dhut wuz een dhu gee·ŭt·wai, un dhu uul·durz, zaed, Wee bee· wee·tnĕesez. Dhu Lau·ŭrd maek dh-uum·un waut-s u-kau·m een·tu yoa·ŭr aewz, luyk Raa·chee·ŭl un luyk Lai·u, dhai tùe· waut bee·ŭldud aup dhu aewz u Úz·rae·ŭl: un du yùe aa·k au·nĕes luyk een Aefrae·ŭtu, un maek yurzuul· fae·ŭmus een Bath-lae·uum.

12. Un lat yoa·ŭr aewz bee luyk dhu aewz u Fae·ŭruz, ee· waut Tae·ŭmur bae·ŭrd tu Jùe·du, u dhu zee·ŭd dhu Lau·ŭrd-l gee·ĕe aewt u dhee·ŭz yuung uum·un.

13. Zoa Boa·az tèok Rèo·th, un uur wuz úz wuyv: un haun ee wai·nt een tùe ur, dhu Lau·ŭrd gid ur kunsaap·shun, un uur bae·ŭrd u zún.

14. Un dhu wŭom·ĕen zaed tu Nai-oa·muy, Blaas·ĕed bee dhu Lau·ŭrd, vur ee· aa·n u-laef·t ĕe dhee·ŭz dai udhaewt u kee·nzmun, ee·ns úz nae·ŭm múd bee fae·ŭmus een Úz·rae·ŭl.

15. Un ee· shl bee u gúv·ur baak· tue ĕe u yur luyv, un u uul·pur een yur oa·l ae·ŭj: vuur yur daa·rtur lau, uur waut du luuv ĕe, uur waut-s bad·r tùe ĕe-n zab-m zúnz-v u-bae·ŭrd-n.

16. Un Nai-oa·muy tèok dhu chee·ŭl, un uur luyd-n een ur buuz·um, un uur nuus-n au·p.

17. Un dhu wŭom·ĕen, uur naa·yburz gid-n u nae·ŭm, un zaed, Dhur-z u zún u-baur·nd tu Nai-oa·muy; un dhai kyaa·ld úz nae·ŭm Oa·bai·d: ee·z dhu faa·dhur u Jas·ĕe, dhaat-s dhu faa·dhur u Dae·ŭvĕed.

18. Naew dhai·zh-yuur bee dhu jin·urae·ŭrshunz u Fae·ŭruz: Fae·ŭrŭz gaut Aez·run,

19. Un Aez·run gaut Raa·m, un Raa·m gaut Umún·udab.

20. Un Umún·udab gaut Nae·ŭshun, Nae·ŭshun gaut Saa·lmun,

21. Un Saa·lmun gaut Boa·az, un Boa·az gaut Oa·bai·d,

22. Un Oa·bai·d gaut Jas·ĕe, un Jas·ĕe gaut Dae·ŭvĕed.

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[1] *sŭs ee* is a very common form of "says he," and is the usual form of historic present in conjunction with *u zaes* as above. *s-ee* and *s-uur* are the usual forms of "says he" and "says she" when other forms preliminary to the *oratio directa* are used, and I should not be at all straining their use if I had inserted them in every instance throughout the narrative.

NOTE UPON WEST SOMERSET PRONUNCIATION.

By J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D.

During a recent stay with him in West Somerset, Mr. Elworthy provided me with many opportunities of hearing the dialect sounds from many and various speakers, and I was thus enabled to re-examine the identifications made by Mr. Ellis, and given, with references to my own and Mr. Sweet's appreciations of the same sounds, as an Appendix to Mr. Elworthy's former paper on the Dialect of West Somerset, in the "Transactions of the Philological Society for 1875–6," pp. 218–272. The results of these new observations were of considerable importance, especially in regard to the sound No. 30 in the Appendix referred to, and again discussed by Mr. Ellis in a final note, p. 271.

The most striking feature in the pronunciation is the strongly pronounced "cerebral" or reversed *ʿr*, produced by turning the tip of the tongue back as far as possible into the hollow of the palate, and then imparting to the whole member as strong a vibration as it is capable of in this position. The result is a dull, deep, vibrant sound, very distinct from the tip-trill of a Northern *r* on the one hand, or the French and German *r* grasséyé on the other. It prevails all over the South of England, becoming less and less vibratory as we come from west to east—I heard it distinctly in the Isle of Wight from natives; and it is the undoubted progenitor of the vocalized *r* of London and literary English, which could never have arisen from the Northern tip-trill. In West Somerset it is not only pronounced wherever *r* is historically present, whether medial or final, as in *au·ʿrduʿr*, order, but it is added to medial and final vowels in many words with equal distinctness, as in *faa·ʿrsheen*, fashion, *uʿr* = a = he, where it must be remembered that *ʿr* is not a mere modification of the vowel, but a true consonant. The reversed position of the *ʿr* also affects the pronunciation of consonants, chiefly *t*, *d*, *l*, and of vowels that accompany it. The sound itself has so much vocal quality, and tends to begin with so deep a guttural vowel, that such words as *red*, *rich*, *run*, are heard as *uʿrd*, *uʿrtsh*, *uʿrn* (which might almost as truly be written *ʿrd*, *ʿrtsh*, *ʿrn*, or *ʿrʿrd*, *ʿrʿrtsh*, *ʿrʿrn*,), the succeeding short *e*, *i*, or *u* being lost between the vibration of the *ʿr* and the consonant. The peculiarity of the sound in No. 33, remarked on by Mr. Ellis, seems to arise, not from the vowel, but from the reversed *d* and *r* which follow it. In the word spelt by Mr. Elworthy *tae·ŭdĕez*, potatoes, I heard a true dental or Northern *r* for the written *d*, *tae·ŭrĕez*, or *tai·urĕez*, and Mr. Sweet subsequently heard it as the same. *L* is also often *guttural*, and this is the apparent peculiarity of the words in List 23, Part II. *bèol*, *pèol*, etc.

As to the vowels generally, I found they varied within considerable limits of low and high, wide or narrow, in different mouths, and in most cases the distinction of quantity was *not* a marked one. The *fractures* or imperfect diphthongs here written ·*ŭ*, as in *oa·ŭ*, were often hardly appreciable to me, or separable from long vowels, and often seemed unintentional. This was especially the case before *l* and *r*, as in *bwuuy·ŭl*, *vuy·ŭr*, *noa·ŭrt*, *aew·ŭl*, etc., where the *ŭ* merely represents the vocal murmur of the *l*, *r*, and there was no suggestion of another syllable. But *ae·ŭ* and *oo·ŭ* were very distinct, though in the former the first element seemed to me higher than *ae*, and the whole sound little different from my Scotch *eae*, which is *ai·ŭ* or rather *i·ŭ*. Most of the words in List 21 spelt with *ee·ŭ* seemed also identical with these, leaving but a few really *ee·ŭ*, as where *r* follows, in *fear*, etc. The sound *oo·ŭ* seemed quite the same as my Scotch *uo*, and the first element not pure *oo*, though near it. Long *aa·* was much thinner than short *aa*, the latter approaching a deep German *a*, while the former was more generally [ā'] the fine sound often heard in *ask*, or in individuals even the long of short English *a*, as in the local pronunciation of Bāth. The distinction of the two sounds was to me more qualitative than quantitative. I was not able to hear any distinction between the two sounds of *o* (*ao*, *oa*), Nos. 13 and 25; I think they were meant for the same sound, viz. the wide (though not very wide) *ao*; the same with their "fractures" *ao·ŭ* and *oa·ŭ*.

The chief difficulty I had was with the words in Lists 28 and 30, in which I still failed to satisfy native ears long after I had mastered all the other sounds. I had attacked them every day for more than a week, without any other results, than the conviction that dialectal speakers considered and meant them all as the same sound, though to me they sounded as different vowels; that they were *not labial*, at least not intentionally so; and that they lay in the region between short *i*, short *e*, short *u*, and short French *u*. It was one day while listening to Mr. Mildon (the local pronunciation of whose own name exemplifies the sound), that I tried to echo the word *silk* after him. Having tried every conceivable vowel without satisfying him, he at length said that I seemed to put a sound between the *s* and *l*, whereas to his ear there was nothing but the *l*. Catching at this hint, I pronounced *s'lk* as in cast-le, *cas'l*, with the *l* made into an additional syllable, and my auditors clapped their hands: I had got it at last, after ten days' trial! The easy utterance of the other words proved it. It was the *natural vowel*, which Mr. Melville Bell identified with a non-syllabic effect of his mid-mixed vowel, and therefore very near Mr. Ellis's palæotype (ə). But as Mr. Ellis uses this as the ordinary short English *ŭ* (in which I believe no Northern ears agree with him), we must consider the West Somerset sound as more front than *ŭ*, i.e. nearer to *ĭ*, *ĕ*, and consequently also to French *u* short. In the present paper accordingly it is written *ú*, and may be looked upon as an *ŭ* advanced and raised towards *ĭ*, or more correctly, looking at its history, as an *ĭ* lowered and retracted towards *ŭ*. For if the words contained in Lists 28 and 30 be examined, it will be found that they are all historically short *i*, or such as had dialectically become short *i*. And in comparing them with the short *i* list No. 24, it will be soon found that they constitute certain classes of the short *i* words, in which, through the influence of the preceding or following consonant, the original vowel has been lowered and drawn back from its high and advanced position in the mouth. If the ĭ words be arranged in columns according to the order of the consonants that follow the vowel, as *-ik*, *-ig*, *-ing*, *-ish*, *-izh*, *-ich*, *-ij*, *-is*, *-iz*, *-it*, *-id*, *-in*, *-ith*, *-idh*, *-il*, *-ip*, *-ib*, *-if*, *-iv*, *-im*, that is from guttural to labial, it will be found that -ĭ remains before *k*, *g*, *ng*, *sh*, *zh*, *ch*, *j*, except in the word *pitch*, where the influence of the preceding *p* produces *púch*; before *s* and *z*, except where a labial or *r* precedes; before *th*, *dh*, *t*, *d*, *n*, except after a *labial* or *r*, or when *er* follows, as *titter* (*tút·ur*). But on the other hand ĭ has become *ú* before *l*, *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *m*, the only words in which ĭ is found before these consonants being such as have not an original ĭ, but *ee*, as wheel (wil), sheep (ship), believe (bliv), or foreign words like *sceptre*, *treble*, *lemon*. Before *,r*, ĭ becomes *u*, *uu*, and the combination *ri* also becomes *uu,r*, as ridge (*uu,rj*).

There is a remarkable correspondence between this distribution of ĭ and *ú*, and the rules for the interchange of the palatal and guttural *i* (и or i, and ы) in Russian, where in grammatical formations the pure palatal *i* is only admissible after the back consonants *k*, *g*, *kh*, *sh*, *zh*, *ch*, and *shtsh*, but with other consonants becomes the guttural or "hard *i*" (ы), the Polish *y*.

In Scotch also, where original ĭ has been lowered to *ĕ* generally, and this in central Scotland retracted to or towards the 'mid mixed' *ŭ* (compare "let *hum* that is *fulthy* be *fulthy stull*," attributed to Dr. Chalmers. See my "Dialect of Southern Scotland," p. 108, note), it remains ĭ or rather *ěe* before a few *k*, *g*, *sh*, and *ch* words, as *sick*, *gig*, *wig*, *whisht* (sěek, gěeg, wěeg, whěesht), while an initial *w* usually gutturalizes ĭ or *ĕ* into the 'mid back' or Northern short *ŭ*, as *will*, *wit*, *whip* (wull, wut, whup).

In listening to the pronunciation of a series of words, as *stik*, *brish*, *bich*, *list*, *bit·l*, *tút·ur*, *skwúnt*, *drúl*, *chúp*, *búb*, *úv·ur*, *plúm*, I seemed to hear a progressive widening of the vowel from the finest ĭ to the most distinct *ú*.[1]

As the natural vowel is greatly influenced by the vocal quality of the preceding consonant, unintentional and unfelt differences easily arise among the words of this class, which accounts for my seeming to hear several distinct vowels, and Mr. Ellis actually throwing them into five different sound groups. This may be easily experienced after pronouncing *súlk*, *s'lk*, by passing to *múlk*, *m'lk*, which the influence of the labial *m* will, unless an effort be made, change to *mŭolk*, as written by Mr. Ellis, No. 30, Part III. Still more is this the case with *v* or *w*, as in *village*, *willow*, which, though meant as *vúl·ij*, *wúl·ŭ*, are almost sure to be heard as *vŭol·ij*, *wŭol·ŭ*, as written by Mr. Ellis. The passage from *will* to *wŭol* shows in a remarkable manner how a sound may cross by a few steps almost from one end of the vowel scale to the other, from *Williton* round the world and back to *Wụ̆ol·itn*! (See D.W.S. p. 11.)

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[1] Since these observations were made, Mr. H. Nicol has read an important paper before the Philological Society, showing that English short ĭ was in the 16th century *ěe* before back consonants, and when final, as in *sing*, *itch*, *lady*, but ĭ before front ones, as in *thin*, *this*, *ill*. This presents valuable analogies to the West Somerset, which has however advanced a step further, since *ěe* has become ĭ, and ĭ become *ú*; but finally *ěe* remains, see p. 48 of Mr. Elworthy's former paper, and his constant spelling of such words as *zab·mtěe*, *hug·lěe*. In South Scotch, also, final *-ie* in *caṇtie*, *fyftie*, etc., is rather *ěe* than ĭ. (See Dial. South Scotl. p. 104.)

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